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Research Forum

Living with Diversity Vol. I: 8-9 November 2008, University of Ljubljana

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Slovenia-Japan University Cooperation Network

Graduate Student Forum Series

Living with Diversity

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LIVING WITH DIVERSITY - VOL. I.

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Preface
Avenues of Dialogue

We had three main objectives in mind when we proposed this *1st Slovenia Japan University Cooperation Network Graduate Student Forum*. Firstly, and most importantly, this forum was to provide a venue for promoting dialogue between graduate students of the Master and Doctorate programmes across the two Faculties of Humanities and Social Sciences. As we know, the etymological definition of dialogue is the activity of exchanging ideas and thoughts and we sincerely hope that each of the participants, in relation to their own specific field of research, could find here a vibrant forum for a discussion of their ideas and thoughts which could in turn generate a different perspective for considering problems and who knows, even coming up with some solutions and themes for further research. The following pages document this encounter between the researchers.

Secondly, this forum was to further and strengthen the ties of friendship and confidence between the University of Ljubljana and the several Japanese universities with which Ljubljana has co-operation agreements. The University of Tsukuba and the University of Gunma represented the Japanese universities. Inter-university co-operation is a key factor if we wish to promote and continue such forums for dialogue and we must thank all the universities concerned for their dynamic efforts in realizing this first forum.

The third major objective of this forum was to further scientific relations between Slovenia and Japan in the fields of human and social sciences. We really do hope that the exchange of ideas during this forum was able to generate themes for further research that we will be able to work on together. Moreover, a forum for dialogue is not the exclusive domain of graduate students, it can concern us all, and we hope in the very near future other researchers too will come together to discuss the theme of *Living with Diversity*.

Lastly, we would like to thank their Excellencies, Mr. Shigeharu Maruyama, the Ambassador of Japan to Slovenia and Mr. Miran Skender, the Ambassador of Slovenia to Japan, for their continued support of Slovene-Japanese relations.

Saburo AOKI, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Tsukuba
Andrej BEKEŠ, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljublajana
December 18th, 2008

SESSION 1.

LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

Report on the Presentations and Final Discussion held between the Members of Session 1 - Language and Society

Discussion members : *Nina Golob, Nami Odagiri, Motoyuki Miyagawa, Léonie Aoki, Atsushi Tobe, Anže Kotar*

• Nina Golob examined the relation between the norm(s) of standard language and the application of this norm, particularly in the context of teaching a foreign language in the most effective way possible.

• Nami Odagiri presented the language environment in Kyrgyzstan where changes occurred with regards the state language, eventually leading to the rise of the Kyrgyz language over the Russian language.

• Motoyuki Miyagawa examined the problems related to the francophonie language areas of former colonies, where a large variety of native languages exist alongside the French language and how this intermingling of languages functions in such an enviroment.

• Léonie Aoki examined the role of English language usage in Japanese society and the method of importing foreign language words into the Japanese language, especially with regards to the influence of Japanese culture on the meaning and use of such imported words.

• Atsushi Tobe focused on understanding how the meaning of a word changes according to context and which contexts can cause such change.

• Anže Kotar tried to demonstrate a possible typological similarity between the Indo-European language system and the Japanese language system in so-called 'noun pairs', which could, in the case of old Japanese, give rise to another way of expressing animacy.

Because of heated debate and lack of time during the Sunday session, we were not able to examine all of the questions posed by the presentations in Session 1, such as:

- what type of language should be taught since spoken language has many varieties
- can a nation-state have a state language while respecting other minority languages within the nation?

- is a common language necessary and just how much is your own language indispensable?
- how can one assimilate a foreign culture in order to better learn a foreign language?
- what is meaning and how should it be analyzed?

The Sunday discussion concerned different ideas on how our themes were related to each other. However, even though our research topics covered a variety of different scientific fields, the debate revolved around one main issue: the relation between the norm or law and actual language use. The norm being taken as knowledge that comes from 'non-situational learning' as in the standard teacher-learner duality and actual language use being taken as 'situational learning' where the user of a language changes the language usage by actual application of the language itself. The majority of the members from Session 1. recognized the fact that a normative language has its boundaries and beyond those boundaries the same normative language evolves into something different. Diagram 1. shows the relation between law and actual language use. The field which allows language shifts towards either the law pole or the actual language use pole is understood as a grey area, where characteristics of each pole intermingle. This idea of a grey area followed us throughout the whole discussion.

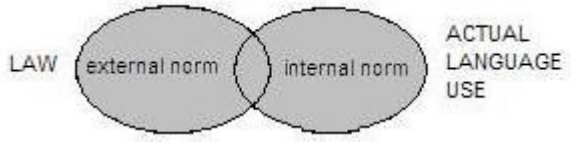
Diagram 1.

To begin with, it seemed that the norm was related only to the part which we called the law, but during the course of discussion the idea came up that the norm itself was bipolar and as such could be split into an internal and an external norm, as seen in Diagram 2.

Diagram 2.

This way of thinking arose when we looked at language not as a uniform principle, but rather as an evolving matter which in being used changes with the enviroment. It seemed, then, that the themes we had highlighted could be discussed in a more complex manner if the concept of internal and external norm were applied. As debate went further we observed that we could actually change the «application» field with the bipolar relation between external and internal norms, as is shown in Diagram 3.

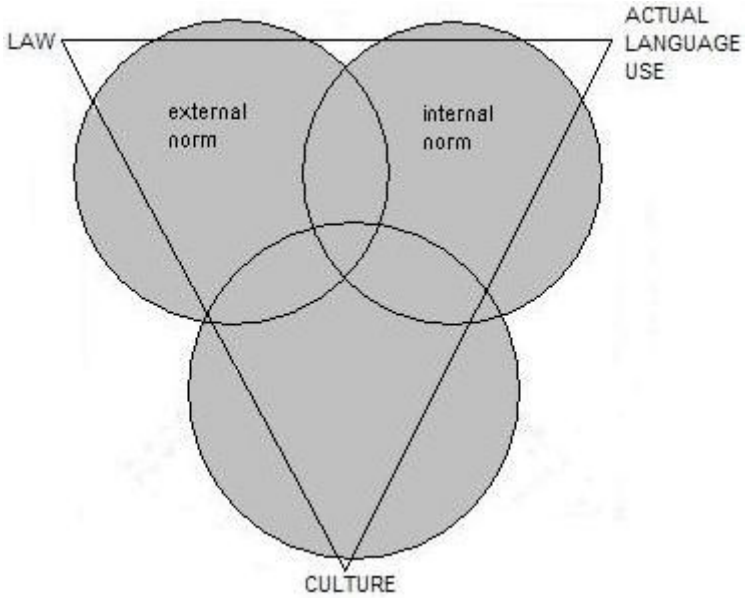
Diagram 3.



This concept actually gave us more space to manoeuvre within our different fields of research. It also gave us the ability to understand some of the points raised during the presentations in a different way, especially those relating to the first four presentations.

Finally, we came up with a further point for consideration, that of the effect of a given culture on the dual concept of: law/external norm - actual language use/internal norm. Because time was short, we could not go into detailed discussion, but we all agreed that culture certainly does have an influence on the equation. The proposed interaction between law, actual language use and culture within the grey areas is seen in Diagram 4. Though we were focusing mostly on the poles, the grey areas were actually fields where our themes met and they also represented areas for further research, since grey areas are not limited in their boundaries or their direction, and with regards to the «relation diagram», this is up to each individual researcher

Diagram 4.



However, this diagram still has some fundamental limitations. For example, can the culture pole be located in this tripartite relation in the way it is; questions as to the existence of norm(s) or the law itself and so on. In developing this schema, however, we had the valuable experience of being able to put our different ideas on the same level and repositioning our own research in accordance with it. We hope to have the opportunity of continuing this discussion in the future.

Synchronic and Diachronic Spoken Language Varieties with emphasis on Japanese and Slovene

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Abstract

Most of the comparative spoken language studies within the areas of linguistics and second language acquisition are bi-polar, that is, they take two different languages as objects for comparison. Such an object requires a clear definition, which, considering language constant synchronic and diachronic changes as well as free phonetic variants, is a perpetual problem for language scientists as well as language teachers. This presentation gives examples from Japanese and Slovene, and discusses some main methodological issues such as standard language and language norm, subjects in empirical studies, target language and its rigidity, and so on.

1. Introduction

Language schools have different ambitions and therefore take different approaches in teaching a foreign language. Some are preferential to communicative language teaching using functional (notional) approaches [1, 2], others argue for a language to be a mental rather than a social phenomenon and thus take formal (analytic) approaches [1, 3], and a third stream manages to integrate the two aspects [4].

None of these approaches can be esteemed to be better or worse. While formal approaches may lead a student to only gain a passive knowledge of a language, there is on the other hand – concluding from actual experience – a danger of a young teacher misinterpreting the aims of functional approaches by jumping to the conclusion that, for minor errors which do not drastically influence communication, a foreign student can easily be forgiven and thus deprives the student of the possibility of ever reaching native-level skills.

What should be defined as an error and how often should it be treated in language teaching? In other words, how does one go beyond understandable communication and head for smooth communication and even further, for native-level communication?

2. Background and research problematic

Misconceptions, as the one above, raise different reactions which can be nicely written down in Japanese as:

the first expressing disappointment of the statement, the second surprise or doubt, and the third a passive acceptance of the stated.

Though generally excluded from school curriculums, such paralinguistic characteristics as emotion, being expressed with intonation (pitch) differences only, should not be treated as minor in communication strategies.

2.1. Synchronic and diachronic language varieties

Spoken language is the result of linguistic, para- or socio-linguistic and non-linguistic functions [5]. Some functions are universal and some are specific to a particular language, but a huge range of their combinations allows a language to express countless variations. While linguistic functions influence the basic linguistic meaning, such as a change of phoneme within a word (時計 tokee (clock) ～ 統計 tookee (statistics) in Japanese, or trava (grass) ～ krava (cow) in Slovene), or a change of accent place (雨 aɽme (rain) ～ 飴 ame (candy) in Japanese, or bólnica (hospital) ～ bolníca (patient) in Slovene) resulting in a change in meaning and in the student being either right or wrong, any other function would only bring a nuance in variation that might be more or less suitable for a particular situation. Such variations can be synchronic, indicating different social and dialectal groups in a given point in time (for example velar plosive /g/ in 小学校 syoogakkoo (primary school) becoming nasalized /ŋ/ in soft speech, or the alveolar trill /r/ in「こりゃ」korya (this) expressing rage compared to the shy girl's lateral approximant /l/ in「これ」kore (kole) (this) in Japanese, or the use of 'fashionable' central mid-vowel /ə/ compared to standardized front open-mid vowel / ɐ̟ / in težka (heavy –fem.) in Slovene). Or they can be diachronic, indicating historical language changes (the appearance of new sounds in Japanese like

ステッカー sutekkaa as the ‘old version’ and スティッカー sutyikkaa as the ‘new version’ meaning sticker, or the gradual disappearance of the tonemic accent in Slovene).

So what should teachers teach and what should students learn?

2.2. Second-language learning and acquisition

Through empirical studies of learner language, researchers may seek to better understand language learning without recourse to factors outside learner language (interlanguage research [6]), or else they may study how learner language compares to the source and/or the target language (language transfer research [7]). Though different at first sight, both domains require several processes to be operative in learner acquisition [8], such as negative transfer from the source language, which predominates at the early stages of acquisition [9] (Slovene learners of Japanese being unable to distinguish vowel duration in 親 oya (parents) and 大家 ooya (owner of a rented house), or Japanese learners of Slovene being unable to distinguish close-mid and open-mid front vowels /e/ and /ɛ̄/ in leva (left) and leva ((two) lions), respectively) and for example overgeneralization and approximation of the source language, which become more frequent at the later stages of acquisition [10], as well as others.

But how do we define a source language, or a target language to be able to use it as a research object in an empirical study?

3. Discussion: language as a research object in empirical studies

Language is defined as having its abstract aspect called language knowledge and its concrete realization in speech act, a one time product [11]. The former is represented through phonology, the latter through phonetics of speech and the two research areas abound in empirical studies. Recently, it is Laboratory Phonology [12] which has taken the lead in the phonetics-phonology interface.

Empirical studies of speech (and its perception), bringing phonological conclusions on a language, demand a high control of their methodology. Whether a research study takes one speaker or several speakers as subjects, (and further, if several, speakers should come from relatively similar backgrounds), whether the speech involved is controlled or spontaneous, whether experiments are conducted in laboratories or natural surroundings, all influence the methods used in data analysis and its further interpretation.

Consequently, taking different approaches, phonological conclusions can have different aims, from creating the background to speech synthesis to closing up rules for the language norm; it is a very sensitive topic in the domain.

A language norm at this point seems nothing other than a set of phonological rules gained from a particular group of subjects by using specific methods. It is of course a language norm of that particular social group and if a group is large enough, the conclusions can be generalized to a wider population with similar characteristics (for example a dialect norm or youth-speech norm etc.). The language of a country, or rather a nation, is thus constituted of several language norms for particular social groups of that country or nation, and language norms are the ones that, according to reciprocal principles, influence the methodology of empirical studies.

One norm is usually chosen to represent the standard language of a given country or nation, however, it is usually set for years or even decades, which consequently means it very likely has lost its actual speaking population.

4. Conclusion

There is a constant debate on which language variety to teach in language schools or use in empirical comparative studies. While teaching a standard language as a target language nevertheless makes sense, in countries like Japan or Slovenia, with numerous dialects and social groups, students hardly ever come from the same language background and therefore in deciding research methodology, it would be preferable to use a language norm and specify its characteristics in detail before beginning a comparative study.

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Linguistic Nationalism:
Kyrgyz in the Language Laws and Acts of Kyrgyzstan

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1. Introduction

Basically, my research belongs to language policy studies in the field of sociolinguistics. Although vast amounts of accumulated study results on language policies in the world already exist, the main subject of the research today seems to be "how to cope with or maintain diversity". For example, studies on endangered languages, multilingualism in the EU, Australia and in other areas are now receiving more attention. Even in Japan, we have studies on dialects which illustrate some aspects of linguistic diversity in Japan. This trend could be a reflection on the history of modernization, where unity was promoted, while diversity was neglected.

However, if we look at the case of the countries of Central Asia, they are now in the process of state-building and unity tends to be emphasized there. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, newly independent states were referred to as "nationalizing states" (Brubaker, 1996), which indicates that the process of state-building was led by the titular nation[1] of each state. Yet, ex-Soviet states were all in multiethnic situations. Below is the example of the ethnic composition of Kyrgyzstan in 2007 presented in CIA THE WORLD FACTBOOK 2008 (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan). Titular nation of the state, Kyrgyz dominates 64.9%, while Uzbek 13.8%, Russian 12.5%, Ukrainian 1.0% and others 7.8%. Even in this multiethnic situation, state-building is led by ethnic Kyrgyz.

In this article, I will focus on the language aspect of state building in Kyrgyzstan. I will define it as Linguistic Nationalism. More concretely, Linguistic Nationalism stands for the transition to the state, where the language of the titular nation plays the central role. This process began around 1989 to 1990, when ex-Soviet states, including those in central Asia, adopted language

[1] Stands for the nation, for which the territory was named.

laws, then the language of the titular nation acquired the status of "State Language" (Shiokawa, 1997)[2]. It was often said that the degree of Linguistic Nationalism in Kyrgyzstan would have been more moderate than in other states[3]. The reason was that the Kyrgyz language lacked history as a written language and the percentage of Russian was high. This is one of the reasons why I chose Kyrgyzstan as the subject of my research, as it is of great significance to examine the situation of a state where more difficulties are presupposed as compared to other states.

2. Goal and Methodology

The goal of this report is to prove how successful the process of the switch to Kyrgyz was after 1989. Here I will examine what kind of status was given to Kyrgyz, how it changed and who was expected to master Kyrgyz. To answer these questions, I will analyze the language laws and acts after 1989.

3. Analysis

3.-1. Language situation before 1989

Before going into the analysis of language laws, I will explain the situation of the Kyrgyz and Russian languages around 1989. At that time Russian was the language which covered the public sphere. It was perceived as the *de facto* language for inter-ethnic communication and functioned as a prestigious language in all spheres of education, academics, administration and so on. In contrast, Kyrgyz was a private language, which lacked history as a written language and was relegated to a lower status.

3.-2. 1989 language law

However, Kyrgyz acquired the status of "State Language" through the 1989 language law. Then, what kind of function was dedicated to the State Language? Article 2 of the law determines the function of Kyrgyz as the State Language. The first function was the symbol of state sovereignty. The second was that Kyrgyz functions in all spheres of state-social activities.

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[2] As for Azarbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, they had already ordained the State Language of each state by then.

[3] Shiokawa (1999) typified language situations in each state according to 3 factors: ①whether the language of the titular nation belongs to Slavic languages or not; ②whether the language of the titular nation has a history as a written language or not; ③the percentage of ethnic Russian. Differences in the language situation which are caused by these 3 factors may explain the differences in the degree of linguistic nationalism in ex-Soviet states.

As for the other parts of this law, each chapter stipulates how Kyrgyz should be used in the workplace or education and how it should be developed. It may be said that this law aims to switch from Russian to Kyrgyz by proposing the usage of Kyrgyz in the public sphere, although at that time the language which covered this sphere was Russian. Yet, at the same time, Russian is defined as the "language for inter-ethnic communication" in the Soviet Union (Article 4) and basically it was permitted to use Russian in all spheres of state-social activities.

3.-3. Program for the development of state language 2000-2010

It is impossible to immediately switch from one language to another. Actually, because of the lack of textbooks, specialists and established methodology of instruction in Kyrgyz, the Russian speaking population had not mastered the State Language, even ten years after independence (Omuraliev, 2007). Reflecting on such a situation, the National Commission for State Language was established in 1998, which aimed to further develop the State Language. At that time, there already existed the concept of "development of the State Language". Yet the legal basis for its development and concrete plans for implementation of the language law were not yet established.

In consideration of such a situation, the "Program for the Development of State Language in 2000－2010" was proposed by presidential decree in 2001, which determined when and where to switch from Russian to Kyrgyz. The period from 2000 to 2005 was defined as the 1st stage, which aimed for publication of textbooks and the establishment of a methodology to teach Kyrgyz in order to strengthen the educational system. Also, the goal was to switch to Kyrgyz in capital and provincial governments. The period from 2006 to 2010 was defined as the 2nd stage: the goal being to switch to Kyrgyz in academic and technological fields.

3.-4. 2004 language law

In 2004, the 1989 language law was revised in response to the demands of the times, when Kyrgyz had acquired one more status. Now, Kyrgyz was not only the State Language of Kyrgyzstan, but also defined as the language for inter-ethnic communication (Article 3). In this law, we can observe even stricter stipulations than ever. Article 9 requires government officials to master the State Language. Article 20 stipulates that more than 50% of TV and radio programs should be broadcast in the state language. Thus the 2004 language law further promoted the switch to Kyrgyz compared with the 1989 version.

Yet it guaranteed the rights of all ethnic groups to protect, learn and develop their mother tongues. However, Article 6 stipulated that it is an obligation for parents to have their children learn the State Language. This could be an expression of the foundation that the State language comes first. Here we can see the clear requirement for the non-Kyrgyz-speaking population to learn Kyrgyz.

4. Conclusion

Thus I can describe the characteristics of the switch to Kyrgyz as "top-down". The strategy of the switch to Kyrgyz was as follows: Firstly, the government gave Kyrgyz the name of State Language and Language for inter-ethnic communication. Secondly, they officially acknowledged the sphere in which Kyrgyz be used and who should master it. And thirdly, they are now trying to make it become a reality.

In this article, I only analyzed language laws and acts and examined the process of the switch from Russian to Kyrgyz. However, the situation of the two languages in reality is somewhat different. For example, Russian is still attractive and widely used in public spheres. So, it may be possible to say that the switch to Kyrgyz is only happening "on paper". However, from an analysis of the language laws, we can observe a certain orientation for the switch to Kyrgyz which may lead to the exclusion of the non-Kyrgyz-speaking population.

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Plurilinguism and Francophonie in Africa

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Nowadays many countries have become members of the International Organization of Francophonie which promotes cooperation and solidarity among French-speaking areas. This phenomenon can be considered another aspect of globalization. One of the keywords of this kind of movement is plurilinguism. There are actually, as a result of colonialism, more than 20 French-speaking countries in Africa. Obviously, in consequence, there is a very complex linguistic situation. The aim of this research is to understand how plurilinguism functions in this highly complex area.

In the first place, this article treats the International Organization of Francophonie, that is to say the "OIF" (Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie) as one of the international organizations whose scale and influence is becoming more and more important; it analyzes this movement especially in the context of the European geopolitical situation, where many countries and languages are rivals. Secondly, turning towards the ex-colonial countries in Africa, it will suggest that because of obvious differences in educational systems, we should analyze these countries by dividing them into two groups: North African countries and sub-Saharan countries. Thirdly, focusing on the real situation in the Republic of Tunisia, one of the major French-speaking countries in North Africa, especially with regards to the bipolar situation between the French language and the Arabic language, this article will attempt to reveal how we should understand the meaning of plurilinguism in a variety of situations.

The OIF is mainly based on a structure that was advocated after independence by several leaders of ex-French colonies to create a new post-colonial order between these countries whilst also looking to create a strong partnership with their former suzerain. This idea came especially from the governing classes of these countries, but there existed also a counter-movement and France itself, fearing it would be considered as still looking to gain profit from its ex-colonies, was not so serious over this organization. So the first objectives of this organization were those of the aristocracy of these ex-colonies who desired to maintain their authority and at the same time desired the

modernization of these areas. Emphasis was also given to the language problem, so that, for example, the first President of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor, declared that the French language was the language of culture, always promoting this language as the basis of his constitution.

However, as time passed, the meaning of the organization changed, particularly in a situation where diversity was required to counteract globalization. For example, in the EU, the Council of Europe issued the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages in 1996, in which they declared every single language in Europe had official status; thus here we have a typical promotion of plurilinguism. The movement has its roots in various linguistic exchanges and more particularly, in the innumerable conflicts to which Europe has been continuously subjected. Prepared three decades even before its publication, this framework shows us the guidelines on foreign language education and is translated into various languages. Obviously, this treatment of language problems is based on the principle of not privileging a particular language, especially English. As if following this direction, the OIF promotes French, one of the languages which have enough competence against English hegemony, even invoking the secularism that certain people consider a specific characteristic of French. The affiliations of several non French-speaking European countries to the OIF prove that this organization functions as the voice of the non English-speaking world. However, as a French linguist, Claude Hagège (2008), mentioned it is almost impossible to administer all the institutions of Europe in all its languages. We should re-examine this movement regarding whether we admit a certain priority to major languages or not. Moreover, the situation of the ex-colonies differs considerably with that of Europe.

As mentioned above, this article divides the ex-French colonial territories into two groups: one composed of the North African countries and the other the sub-Saharan countries. The explicit difference between these two groups is the lack of education taught in the indigenous language. In North African countries, primary education is basically taught in the Arabic language, on the other hand in the sub-Saharan countries the whole education system is constructed on the French style. Precisely, in the latter, the actual situation is such where the problem of literacy comes into question, and moreover the students in primary schools are suddenly confronted with a foreign language which is used as the medium language in all classes. Actually, after independence, or even in some cases before that, there were continuous attempts to realize education in the indigenous language. Some attempts were planned by the people of these areas trying to create the orthography of their languages, many of which originally had no written form, others by various foreign aid agencies. However, so far, these attempts have not seen any noteworthy achievements. Of course, there are many reasons for this problem beyond the linguistic factor, and we could not by any means, say out of hand, that education in the French language is the root of the evil, but it is also true that this

system is in part responsible for the problem of literacy. As to the cause of this situation, we can observe an extremely wide variety of indigenous languages themselves and a lack of writing system in many of these African languages. In this sense, the North African countries avoid this literacy problem through their writing system which is completely fixed. However, although this circumstance leads us to believe that plurilinguism works well in this area, the perspective of the actual situation is not so simple.

The Republic of Tunisia gained its independence in 1956 but far before this event 'francization' and 'arabization' were in competition with each other. Under the French protectorate, there had already been several movements of arabization and the Arabic press, sometimes clandestine, played an important role in the independence movement. After independence, since the Constitution of the Republic clearly declared that the language of the State was Arabic, the administrative bodies were gradually 'arabized' and the education system was not an exception. The primary schools were all 'arabized' and the French language was only partially introduced during higher education. But at the same time, the authority of the Republic admitted the difficulty of an immediate and complete elimination of French from society, and also admitted the usefulness of the French language regarding scientific fields and more especially international relations. Therefore French was maintained to a certain degree or rather it was used mainly in higher education. The situation was not permanent, several curriculum reforms were implemented, but the direction was always towards the Arabic language even if there were also some kinds of counteraction. We could not determine immediately what this movement represented to people whose mother tongue was Arabic, because the Arabic language itself differs widely depending on the area, and standard Arabic is not the same as these people's indigenous Arabic language. Furthermore, there must be many other factors which influence language policy, for example, lobbying by religious groups or financial institutions. In any event, there is a concrete situation where the French language represents higher education, thus social status, which we could not simply understand in the same context as plurilinguism in European countries.

Comparing these areas and analyzing the language situation, we can observe that there are various circumstances where the simple term "plurilinguism" is not enough to describe the specific aspect of each society. Certainly, there are so many languages in the whole world that linguistic unification is sometimes difficult to realize and the possibility of conflict occurs very frequently. Each people may have the right to use their own language, but it is also true that the necessity of a common language is evident and unification of language to a certain level is inevitable in order for a nation to be governed in a stable situation. Apparently, however, there is a strong contradiction here. Plurilinguism is certainly a reasonable solution for this issue, but nevertheless, depending on the

particular situation, it is also a major cause of instability in society. For example, in sub-Saharan countries, there are many foreign aid organizations active also in areas of language problems, especially with regards to literacy, but it is possible to construe this as a certain kind of intervention. In this sense, we can say that the French language, not simple plurilinguism, functions to moderate the linguistic situation of these countries. Nonetheless, it is not a perfect solution either.

To conclude this article, I would suggest that at least primary education be taught in the mother tongue of each area as one of the prerequisite conditions to realize a society where plurilinguism deserves to be promoted. However, it is also necessary to conduct further detailed research into the actual situation of each highly complex area.

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Japanese Culture and English Language: An Observation of English Errors in Japan

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English language plays a significant role in Japan. Although Japan is a monolingual country and 98.5% of the population is Japanese, English can be seen everywhere: in books, brochures, TV commercials, cosmetic products and advertisements, etc. However, despite the amount, it is almost never used correctly. For example, a sign on a dustbin would read: "waste please" (Engrish.com); on a chopstick wrapper in a restaurant: *Relax and unwind in cozy private space and Japanese modern floor*; etc. Although there are many possible explanations for the vast amount of English language mistakes found in Japan, I believe that the main reason for this can be found deep within Japanese culture.

In 1616 Japan deliberately closed its ports in order to limit and eventually end diplomatic relations with other countries. For about 250 years Japan remained a secluded country without any contact with the rest of the world. It is often thought that Japan succeeded in preserving its culture to the present day because of this period. When the ports were reopened and throughout the following Meiji era (1868-1912), Japanese people were exposed to Western culture for the first time. English was then introduced and adopted for diplomacy and a small number of people were selected to master the language for this particular need. However, English was used only by the elites of the upper class, politicians and scholars. It was not until 1908 that English was introduced as a school subject on the curriculum of compulsory education and studied by the entire young population for the first time.

Nowadays, every Japanese middle and high school student has to study English during their years of compulsory education. If a student wants to go on to university, he/she will have to take an entrance examination which includes English. In the curriculum compiled by the Japanese Ministry of Education, good communication skills are clearly stated as being one of the major aims of English teaching (The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, The Course of Study for Foreign Languages 2003). To this end, the Ministry has also put a lot of effort into hiring native English speaking teachers. However, the reality shows that even after six years of compulsory English education, it is almost impossible to find a

student who can speak basic English. The principal reason for this is because, despite the curriculum set by the Ministry, it is mainly English grammar that is taught in the classroom. However, the main reason for grammar-oriented instruction in Japanese schools is because of the competitive high school and university entrance examinations, where, though English language is one of the five required examination subjects, verbal communication skills are not tested. Entrance examinations are important in Japan because of the great value society as a whole places on well known high schools and universities. Therefore, despite the fact that English is taught to every young child during compulsory education, English language is not used to improve communication skills but to be able to pass written examinations; and consequently school education is grammar-oriented. Although entrance examinations could eventually lead to a certain level of English, judging from the number of English language errors found throughout the country and the lack of communication skills when confronted with a "live" situation, these examinations still do not seem to have any effect on the general level of language.

However, although English is not used for communication, it is still frequently used in Japan. Harald Haarmann explains that this is because English is used only as a prestige-value function in Japan (Haarmann, 1989). He claims that English and other foreign languages are used mainly on product names and advertisements, in order to look foreign and new. This explains the main reason for the contradiction between low English communication skills and the frequent use of English language in society.

When Western culture and technology were introduced into Japan, English words (and also other foreign words) were imported into the Japanese language as well. For example, the English word “door” was imported when Western doors were used in Japanese housing. Many other languages also imported foreign words into their languages in this way. However, Japanese culture had a unique way of doing this. There is a Japanese concept, introduced during the Meiji era, which is expressed by the slogan “*Wakon Yôsai*” or “Japanese spirit Western knowledge”. It means that Japanese people can improve their technology by importing techniques from the West while preserving the “Japanese spirit”. In this sense, Japanese culture not only imported new technology, but also, at the same time, changed the original form and reproduced a new notion in order to fit into Japanese society. An example of this is the term “mansion”. In English, mansion means a large impressive house (Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary), but a Japanese mansion is an apartment house, or a studio apartment (Genius Japanese-English dictionary). In the process of being imported, *mansion* changed its meaning and is now used differently.

Words imported during and after the Meiji restoration were used for naming imported objects and new Western technology. For "new" imported words, a special Japanese writing system, katakana is used.[1] Katakana is used mainly for foreign words or foreign names. By using a different writing system, most foreign words can be distinguished. In other words, while accepting new technology into society Japanese culture also created a way of distinguishing foreign words from those of its own language. In this way, it can be said that the concept of *Wakon Yosai* is present in the Japanese language as well.

Many argue that culture is inseparable from language (Jiang, Guest, Hakuta et al.). Language is believed to be part of a culture, and without learning that culture one cannot successfully learn a foreign language. Japan has a culture that is very different from Western culture therefore, Japanese language learners from the West must also learn Japanese culture along with the language. An example of how culture is represented in a language is best seen in the way the Japanese express "thank you". There are approximately six ways to say "thank you" in Japanese: *arigatô* (thank you), *dômo* (thanks when used as a single word), *sumimasen* (literally sorry), "*san-kyû*" (English "thank you" pronounced in a Japanese way) and the addition of the honorific form *gozaimasu* (thank you very much) and a combination of the three: *dômo arigatô gozaimasu* (an even politer way of saying thank you very much indeed). In order to use the correct way of saying "thank you", it is necessary to understand that in Japanese culture there are different ways of talking depending on the relation of the speaker to the listener. Students of English should also learn the culture of English speaking countries, which in the case of Japan is usually America or Great Britain. Moreover, Kushida, in his "*バイカルチャーと日本人/ Biculturalism and the Japanese: Beyond English Linguistic Ability*" claims that in order to become truly bilingual, in this case, Japanese-English bilingual, it is necessary to become "bicultural" as well (Kushida, 2006).[2] However, for Japanese English learners, there are more difficulties in learning a foreign language apart from culture differences which can be explained by *Wakon Yôsai*. When saying "thank you" in Japanese, it is often associated with a bowing gesture. This indicates that one will not only have to have the knowledge of a foreign language but will also have to accept a foreign gesture inside one's body, or adopt foreign body language. In this sense, since Japanese culture has a strong characteristic of *Wakon Yôsai*, it is naturally more difficult for the Japanese to accept a foreign language and culture because their culture does not allow for it.

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[1] New imported words are words imported after the Meiji era. Words imported before that period were mostly from the Dutch and Portuguese languages during the 16th Century, for old imported words the Kanji writing system (Chinese characters) is used.

[2] The term "*bicultural*" introduced by Kushida means to be able to use and understand a foreign culture.

In conclusion, due to the concept of *Wakon Yôsai*, Japan has preserved its rich culture in many ways. This is why Japan is a very interesting, different and attractive country to people from around the world. However, the poor English of the Japanese people, which is often reflected in errors found in official information brochures as in advertisements of all kinds, not only comes from the examination-oriented English education, but more particularly comes from this deep rooted part of Japanese culture and identity. As the concept claims, the Japanese have "imported" Western techniques and developed original products with a made-in-Japan sign pasted on them. In this respect, we can say the same thing about imported words. Nevertheless, these imported words are written in a different writing system in order to show that they are not of Japanese origin. Furthermore, the fact that English is used just for its prestige value can also explain why there are so many English errors in Japan. As Kushida suggests, becoming bicultural would solve these problems. However, from the long history of Japan and its resistance to outside influence, asking the Japanese to become bicultural is not realistic. Even if other suggestions are put forward, nothing will change as long as Japan remains closed to the rest of the world.

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Correlations of Animacy in Proto-Indo-European and Japanese Languages

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1. Introduction

Animacy can be observed in both Indo-European (IE) and Modern Japanese (MDJ) language systems. This feature of language is in most cases related to the ability, or at least to the image of having the ability, to do something by the will that each NP possesses or does not possess. Though animacy refers solely to NPs it can be expressed in different ways; in IE it is mostly done by case markers, while in MDJ it is done by «locational verbs» - 存在動詞.

But there are some indications that, in the Japanese language system, animacy can be expressed in another way as well which has not been addressed so far, but which can be seen in IE languages by the so called «noun pairs». I will describe the main characteristics of these «noun pairs» in IE and then show how these can, to some extent, be observed in Old Japanese (OJ).

2.1. Basic ways of expressing animacy in IE and MDJ

On the basis of texts written in ancient IE languages it can be understood that some NPs cannot stand in all cases. There are two vital cases, nominative (N) and accusative (A). The ability of NPs to stand in certain cases is related to the fact that some NPs can not take the role of the agent. The NPs that can have the role of agent are called animate, they have the feature of animacy, while those that can not take the role of the agent are called inanimate.

Table 1. «father»

	PIE	OIND	GR	LAT
N	*$ph_2tēr$	*pitā*	πατήρ	*pater*
A	*$ph_2térm$	*pitaram*	πατέρα	*patrem*
	father	father	father	father

Table 2. «mist, cloud, sky»[1]

	PIE	OIND	GR	LAT	HET	OCSLAV
N	***nébhes***	*nabhah*	νέφος	*nebula*	*nepiš*	*nebo*
A	***nébhes***	*nabhah*	νέφος	*nebulam*	*nepiš*	*nebo*
	mist, cloud, sky	mist, cloud, sky	mist, cloud	mist	sky	sky

While N represents the agent, another principal case in clauses is that which represents the role of object which is A, and both animate and inanimate NPs can stand in this case. This means that in underived transitive clauses, an NP that is perceived as animate can have two different case markings, one for the role of agent and another for the role of object, while an inanimate NP can only have a case marking which serves to express the role of object. Examples in Tables 1 and 2 show this kind of case usage with «father» being an example of an animate noun and «mist, cloud, sky» an example of an inanimate noun.

On the other hand, MDJ expresses the feature of animacy through the application of two locational verbs:

池　に　は　鯉　が　いる[2]
ike　ni　wa　koi　ga　iru
pond　L　TOP　carp　N　be-NONPAST
«Carp is in the pond. »

山　に　は　まだ　雪　が　ある[3]
yama　ni　wa　mada　yuki　ga　aru
mountain　L　TOP　still　snow　N　be-NONPAST
«Snow is still on the mountain.»

These examples point to the fact that MDJ makes some NPs animate if they can be used in underived locational clauses with the verb いる *iru* «be», while those that can not be used with this verb but with the verb ある *aru* «be» are understood as inaminate.[4]

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[1] LAT example is derived from the same PIE root as other examples with the attached suffix PIE
*-*leh*$_2$; the same form is seen in GR νεφέλη «fog»; this kind of LAT and GR noun are treated as femeninum and this is the reason why N and A are marked differently. Most likely because of intransitive clauses and analogy, accusative case markers used with inanimate nouns afterwards start to represent the nominative case as well.

[2] Matsumura (2005: 179).

[3] Matsumura (2005: 86).

[4] Ikegami (1984: 65-6), Teramura et al. (1981: 28), Teramura (1982: 157) on the basis of other examples.

2.2 Extended ways of expressing animacy in IE and Japanese

The way of expressing animacy in PIE was extended by cases of nouns that in the beginning were not considered animate, as perceived for humans and animals. It was at this stage that these nouns were incorporated into animate gender, which came into existance after the division of nouns into animate and inanimate. They came from the world of «inanimate» words, that is, they did not represent humans or animals but natural phenomena like water, fire and sky. Compare Table 2 with Table 3.

Table 3. «bright sky, deity»[5]

	PIE	OIND	GR	LAT	HET	OCSLAV
N	**dyēws*	*dyauh*	Ζεύς	*Iuppiter*	*Šiuš*	*dьnь*
A	**dyēm*	*dyām*	Δία	*Iovem*	*Šiuin*	*dьnь*
	bright sky, deity	fair, birght sky	Zeus	Jupiter	Šiu	day

As can be seen here, natural phenomena, with the meaning «bright sky», were treated the same way as the word for «father» by having different N and A case markers. Afterwards, there was a switch in the meaning from «bright sky» to «deity» as can be seen in the examples of Table 3. In the process, this deity took the place of highest divine being in the religion of speakers of PIE and their ancestors. By this the so-called «noun pairs» came into existence, that is a pair of nouns that refer to similar phenomena in nature, like (bright and clouded) sky, but are treated differently regarding animacy, where one is understood as animate and the other as inanimate; as is shown in the examples of Tables 2 and 3.

There is the possibility that the same structure can be seen in Japanese as well, and with this comes the possiblity that expressing animacy in Japanese is not only limited to locational verbs but can be expressed by «noun pairs» as well.

The highest deity among Shintō gods is 天照大神 (Amaterasu Ōkami), who also governs the heavens, which means that she has the same role as the gods Zeus, Jupiter and Šiu have in their respective religious systems. The common point that applies to Amaterasu and the IE gods is that they are so called «sun gods», representing the fair, bright sky or the sun. Modern and Old Japanese dictionaries depict Amaterasu as a «sun godess», «sun personified in a deity», «deity who rules the heavens». Though it is not explained from which morphemes the name of this deity is built from, it is generally understood that

[5] In OIND an example *devah* «demon, diety, evil spirit» is attested, and this derives from PIE **deiwos* «id.», which can also be seen in LAT *deus* «id.», PSLAV **divъ* «id.»; GR examples can be used together with the word «father» in the word formation GR Ζεύς πατήρ «father sky», the same can be seen in the N of the Latin example; OCSLAV word is derived from the PIE root **dey-* «shine» with suffix PIE **-en*.

three morpheme clusters are used. These are *ama*, *tera* and *su*. The honorific title for deities *ōkami* is added to these morpheme clusters but is not of high importance here, so I will not go into detail. From an MDJ point of view the name Amaterasu could be undersood as «revered deity of the shining (sky)». If the honorific term *su* is omitted, the verb only is left and this verb can also be seen in its derived form as shown below:

- OJ **amande꜀rashi*, in attributive form OJ **amande꜀rasu* 安麻泥良須 Manyōshū (MYS) 4125 «shine (in the sky)»[6],
- OJ **amande꜀ruya* (?) 天光夜 MYS 3886 «shine (in the sky)», also used in poems for noting the sun[7]

which both show on the two main morpheme clusters *ama* and *teru*.

These morpheme clusters give the following picture:

- OJ **ama* 阿麻 Kojiki (K) 84, 安麻 MYS 3602 etc. «sky, heaven» (天, 空); also **aməy* 阿米 K 100 etc. with otsu-type vovel; it can be used in word compositions regarding heaven, that is a place opposite from the ground.
- OJ **aməy* 阿米 K 100 etc. with otsu-type vovel, «sky, heaven» (天, 空); derived from OJ **ama* 阿麻 K 84, 安麻 MYS 3602 etc. «sky, heaven», dwelling place of gods, originally with the meaning «heaven» with the later development towards the meaning «sky».
- OJ **aməy* 阿米 K 81, 安米 MYS 4123 «rain»; from the same root as OJ **aməy* 阿米 K 100 etc. «sky, heaven»; in word compositions also *ama*, MDJ *amagumo* 雨雲 «rain cloud» or *same*, MDJ *harusame* 春雨 «spring rain».
- OJ **te꜀ru*, in adverbial form OJ **te꜀ri꜀* 弖理 K 58, K 101, **te꜀ri꜀* 弖利 MYS 3672, MYS 4397 «shine (moon, sun), blaze, gleam».
- OJ **su*; auxiliary verb that modifies preceding verb with honorific, intimate meaning; preceding verb has to be in a form of irrealis.

The meaning of the verb OJ **te꜀ru* in the term *amaterasu* is quite clear, as is the role of the auxiliary verb *su* as well. So the most interesting point is the root OJ **am-*. It seems that the original meaning should have been something regarding rain, clouds and sky, the same as is seen in PIE example **nébhes* «mist,

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[6] For reconstruction of OJ words I am following *Miyake, Marc Hideo (2003) Old Japanese: a phonetic reconstruction*, *Routledge Curzon* with the exception of C-type vovels, which are indicated with subscribed *c* in the examples given here.

[7] I have not found any examples of this word written in *ongana* (Chinese characters used phonetically to spell Japanese syllables).

cloud, sky». Though the basic meaning of the word phrase *amaterasu* is something like «shine (in the sky (+honorific))» or together with the honorific expression for deity «revered deity of shining», which opens the way for a new meaning to emerge, that of «sun deity», and from there to the meaning of highest deity in a religious system. There is some question as to whether the original meaning was not closer to «clearing, brightening up clouded, rainy sky». In any case, the development of this kind of meaning can be related to the deities that have the same position in IE societies.

So, to put it all together as a way of possible explanation:

> -PIE and OJ could, from a typological point of view, share words depicting the same phenomena from nature where a shift can be seen from the meaning «cloud, mist, rain» to the meaning «sky» (**nebh-* > **nebhes*, 雨 > 天(?)).
> -in opposition to this kind of clouded sky, a new type of sky emerges with words centered around verb roots with the meaning «shine» and this new word later becomes personified into a celestial being which eventually takes its place as the ruling or the highest deity.

These relations can be put in the following form:

Table 4.

shiny sky, sun deity	cloud, rain, mist	
**dyew* -	**nébhes*	PIE
**amande$_c$rasu* (*opokamI* (?)) 安麻泥良須 MYS 4125 (+ 大神)	**aməy* 阿米 K 81, K100	OJ

and with the understanding of the role of noun pairs in PIE, another row can be added to the table above:

Table 5.

shiny sky, sun deity	cloud, rain, mist	
**dyew* -	**nébhes*	PIE
**amande$_c$rasu* (*opokamI* (?)) 安麻泥良須 MYS 4125 (+ 大神(?))	**aməy* 阿米 K 81, K100	OJ
animate	inanimate	

4. Conclusion

The above shows the possibility that there could be another way of expressing animacy in Japanese language, that is, not only through the usage of locational verbs but also by the usage of noun pairs as can be oberved in IE.

However, in order to develop this idea further, more detailed research should be done, focusing on:

- a more comprehensive and proper etymology of Japanese examples
- whether these examples, if they can indeed be understood in the same way as noun pairs are inderstood in PIE, really show difference in animacy.

I believe this should be done through researching how these examples act in language. While PIE case markers really show enough to make such a statement, Japanese does not use them, and I doubt that case particles would give the same picture. Therefore, it would seem that the only way to do this correctly would be through a study of verb usage with which this kind of noun is used, or through a study at the whole clause level.

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SESSION 2.

TRADITION AND MODERNIZATION

Report on the Presentations and Final Discussion held between the Members of Session 2 – Tradition and Modernization

Discussion members: *Itai Keshet, Takashi Furuta, Iztok Ilc, Klemen Senica, Tinka Delakorda, Nataša Visočnik*

Before starting our discussion on the Sunday, we each ran through the main points of our presentations.

・Takashi Furuta examined modernization in Japan through Kamura Isota's "I-novel", arguing that a study of a given society's literature will lead to a better understanding of the characteristics of that society.
・Iztoc Ilc raised questions about mediated translation and how literature is changed by such translation.
・Itai Keshet discussed systems of modern society as observed in literature, focusing on the writings of Tedeusz Borowski and the theories of Georgio Agamben.
・Klemen Senica discussed the representation of the 'Other' in Atsushi Nakajima's work *Mariyan.*
・Tinka Delakorda examined the relationship between religion and tourism with reference to the impact of commercialization and the role of government.
・Nataša Visočnik introduced housing values in the city of Kanazawa in Japan.

We started the discussion with the presentation given by Itai Keshet. He talked about the concept of 'The Grey Zone' as developed by Giorgio Agamben, where Agamben uses Primo Levi's term 'The Grey Zone' as an allegory for modern civilian life. Agamben criticized our modern apathetic existence, or our common need to ignore the violence that surrounds us in order to lead a "normal" life. One of the aspects of modernity is to hide the real, major problems behind issues of everyday life. That way we are no longer aware that we are part of a system which is directly responsible for the violence that surrounds us. In order to be part of modern civilian life, we need to "forget" this fact, along with our responsibilities as passive collaborators. This can be interpreted as the "greyness" of modernity.

We then moved to the theme brought up by Takashi Furuta: that is, the construction of self in modern and contemporary Slovenian literature. We can observe different types of construction of self, especially after WWII and in the literature of the Slovenian minorities in Italy and Austria. However, it is difficult to make an exact parallel with the Japanese I-novel. At the

time when the Japanese I-novel was most prominent, that is before WWII, Slovenian prose works written in a similar manner were mainly short stories and novellas. Introspective works on a larger scale appear only after WWII. Furthermore, the term I-novel is not used in Slovenian literature. We talk about autobiographical or more recently autofictional prose. In this genre, authors such as Lojze Kovačič, Vitomil Zupan or Boris Pahor speak about their lives and surrounding society. Authors also used this form as a means of criticizing the communist regime.

Concerning Iztok Ilc's topic, mediated translations, we agreed, that they were necessary but that they need to be done with great caution and investigation of the source culture. We cannot assume that all potential readers or interested audience has sufficient competence in the mediating language, so the absence of mediated translations can lead to the exclusion of part of the readership.

Within the context of Klemen Senica's presentation of Nakajima Atsushi's novelette *Mariyan*, we mentioned that it was considered to be the first postcolonial work in Japanese literature. Despite the narration which starts out as a compendium of stereotypes about Micronesia and its colonised inhabitants, it suddenly changes as the character Mariyan rejects the narrator's view of the South Seas constructed on the basis of Western works about the region. We all agreed with Edward Said`s words that an analysis of colonial literature is necessary for a complete understanding of colonial politics. We mentioned that stereotypes appear on both sides and that we should be aware of this fact and detect them.

Regarding her topic, Tinka Delakorda observed that within European religious studies the connection between travelling with a religious aim and tourism has not been discussed, even though this connection has always been present. In Japan the situation is the opposite, the link between religious activities and tourism/consumerism has always been strong.

Nataša Visočnik's theme on housing values and identity was the last to be discussed. The presentation examined traditional and modern elements in contemporary Japanese houses in Kanazawa and the role they play in forming identity. Tradition and modernity are not contradictory or exclusive. They are merely two different classes of things which can however interact beneficially. Tradition is still very often considered as a ‘thing of the past’ without any contemporary legitimacy, and modernity is often mistakenly considered as modernism. In contemporary housing we can find both elements combined into a new contemporary style.

Matja Brumen exhibited a series of photographic portraits taken firstly of members of the Torifune Butô-sha group during their stay in Ljubljana and then of some Japanese young people he met during his visit to Japan. In his work, Matja endeavoured, not to seek out and portray the unusual or the exotic, but rather the normal and the familiar. These portraits are of people he knows, shown in everyday situations.

As Professor Ikeda suggested, we examined whether our conclusions were valid for other societies. From our discussion, it appeared that our individual conclusions were valid for other societies despite the differences that could be observed. From the studies of Itai Keshet and Takashi Furuta, it would seem that the literature of a given society does reflect the characteristics of that society. Each literary work is a portrayal of its own society showing the diverse characteristics of that society.

The research carried out by Iztoc Ilc would also seem to share this point of view as mediated translation is a problem of transferring the values of one culture and language to another. Klemen Senica introduced the notion of “other”. Every society has an “other” but the expression of the “other” differs according to each society. Here again the theme indicates representation of a society's specific characteristics. Based on the presentation of Tinka Delakorda, an examination of the relation between religion and tourism would also show the characteristics of a given society. We concluded that there were several possibilities for comparative studies.

Coming back to the main theme of “Tradition and Modernization”, we concluded that each society has its own concept of “Tradition and Modernization” which again makes for diversity and a possible theme for a comparative study.

Modernization in Japan: Kamura Isota and the "I-novel"

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Introduction

I believe that literature is a reflection of its society. For example, among the many literary forms of Japan like the Haiku, the Tanka, the Monogatari, etc., there is no doubt that the Monogatari of the 10th Century is a reflection of the Japanese aristocratic society of the time.

In this paper, I would like to examine modernization in Japan by reading Kamura Isota's "I-novel" [i]. Japanese modernization began during the Meiji era (1868-1912). This era was characterized by the emergence of Western ideologies and cultures. This meant that modern literature in Japan was influenced by modern literature in the West. One of the influences of Western modern literature was the genre known as the "I-novel".

What is an "I-novel"?

The "I-novel" is a story of the writer himself/herself. He/she writes about his/her life at home, at school, about his/her loves and pain. It has been said that "naturalism" in the West paved the way for Japanese writers to create or develop the "I-novel." It should be noted, however, that the concept of the novel in the West is a form of fiction. However, the Japanese "I-novel", on the contrary, is a depiction of what truly happens to the writer.

This gap, between the concepts of a novel in the West and an "I-novel" in Japan, prompted many critics to categorize Japanese literature as "immature." However, I contend that the "I-novel" brings forth two important discourses. Firstly, that it is a symbol of modernization, and secondly, that it is a form of literature unique to Japanese letters. Hence, an examination of the "I-novel" will give us the characteristics of this Japanese literary expression and this literary expression will give us the characteristics of modernization in Japan.

Text analysis

I will focus here on Kamura Isota's "I-novel''. Kamura Isota (1897-1933) was an "I-novel" writer of the early Showa period (Showa reign 1926-1989) in Japan. I will analyze *Tojyou* [ii](*On the Way of Life,* 1932), which narrates his unfortunate life story from age fifteen to thirty four, from two points of view. The first discusses how Isota depicted "self". The second discusses how Isota expressed literary symbols, meanings, tone, and voice.

Isota portrayed "self" in *Tojyou* through such expressions as "*my black skin*," "*my father, my mountains and forests*," and "*my shame*." From these expressions, it is clear that Isota took body, family, community and emotion as "self". Therefore, in his portrayal of them, Isota expressed "self", as shown in the following:

> *Itô sometimes teased me about my black skin. His teasing reminded me of my unfortunate memory.*[iii]
>
> *My black skin has been a bother to me*[iv]
>
> *And now, I said to myself "I am throwing away my father, my mountains and forests, my wife and child."*[v]
>
> *If I became forty or fifty years old, I could not forget my shame: When I went to my lover's house, I broke a fire basin impolitely. It comes from my instinct. I could not lose my image in my head. I could not think about this shame without jumping, rampaging, acting as an odd fellow*.[vi]

It is also important to note that Isota depicted different levels of "self": internal "self" and external "self". For example, "*my father, my mountains and forests*" are external, since these "selves" are given things. On the other hand, Isota portrayed "*my black skin*" and "*my shame*" as mental images. These "selves" should be explained as internal ones. In Isota's novel the internal "self" is more important than the external "self". Hence, Isota wrote "*I am throwing away my father, my mountains and forests*." and "*I*" *abandon myself to* "*my imageries*."

So how did Isota express his images? In other words, how did Isota express literary symbols, meanings, tone, and voice? This can be examined by the following passages:

On my way to "Y-machi(town)", I saw a long narrow pond through old red pinewoods. And I heard the sounds of treetops. My father and I arrived at "Y-machi" at sunset.[vii]

I saw the sight without noticing my steps towards the station. Some trains have passed through a clump of pines. Smoke wreaths from these trains have trailed on the treetops. I am wandering around the same ringed path between potato fields.[viii]

Tojyou has some dark and pathetic tones, like: "*the sounds of treetops*" while the narrator is "*wandering around the same ringed path*." This strange imagery represents the internal "self". From these passages, Isota seems to portray his internal "self" negatively. In fact, Isota's work based on his internal "self", effectively symbolized the modernization of Japan which had Western influences and autonomic aspects. The internal "self" is a mark of the autonomic aspect of modern Japanese literature.

Conclusion

As we examined in Isota's "I-novel", the "I-novel" has an aspect of self-representation; "I-novel" writers rely on "self". The "I-novel" as a form of Japanese modern literature can demonstrate the autonomic aspect of modernization in Japan as against the passive aspect with regards the West. Thus, a study of a society's literature will lead us to a better understanding of the characteristics of that society.

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[i] Kamura Isota (1897-1933) was born in Yamaguchi prefecture in Japan. He came from a farming family. Isota was bothered by his black (dark) skin. Isota depicted his own life in his "I-novel".

[ii] "Tojyou" is Isota's "I-novel". It was published by "chuou kouronn", which was one of the biggest literary journals. In this paper, I used the version of "kôdansha bunngei bunnko" 「途上」(『中央公論』1932（昭和 7）年 2 月，引用は『業苦　崖の下』講談社文芸文庫，1998 年)。

[iii] In this paper, quotations from "Tojyou" were translated by the present writer. So, I have cited the original Japanese below.「伊藤は折ふし面白半分に私の色の黒いことを言ってからかった。それが私の不仕合せなさまざまの記憶を新にした。」（前掲,『業苦　崖の下』225 頁)。

[iv] 「幼年，少年，青年の各時代を通じて免かれなかった色の黒いひけ目が思いがけぬ流転の後の現在にまで尾を曳くかと淡い驚嘆が感じられた。」（同上，246 頁)。

[v] 「そうして今，父も，祖先伝来の山林田畠も，妻子も打棄てて行く我身をひしひしと思った」（同上，242 頁)。

[vi]「私は４０になり５０になつても，よし気が狂つても，頭の中に生きて刻まれてある恋人の家族の前で火鉢をこはした不体裁な失態, 本能の底から湧出る慚愧を葬ることが出来ない, その都度, 跳ね上がり，わが体を擲き，気狂ひの真似をして恥づかしさの発情を誤魔化さうと焦らずにはゐられないのである。この小事のみで既に私を終生，かりに 1 つ 2 つの幸福が手に入つた瞬間でも，立所にそれを毀損するには十分であつた。」（同上，245 頁)。

[vii] 「六里の山道を歩きながら，いくら歩いても渚の尽きない細長い池が，赤い肌の老松の見え隠れする途上，梢の高い歌い声を聞いたりして，日暮れ時分に父と私とは Y 町に着いた。（同上，211 頁)。

[viii]「行く手の木立の間から幾個もの列車の箱が轟々と通り過ぎ，もくもくと煙のかたまりが梢の上にたな

びひてをるのを私は間近に見てゐて，そこの停車場を目指す自身の足の運びにも気づかず，芋畠のまはりの環のやうな同じ畦道ばかり幾包もくるくると歩き廻ってゐるのであった。一種粛條たる松の歌ひ声を聞き乍ら。」（同上，251-252 頁）。

The Gray Zone and Modernization

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The Holocaust, the elimination of European Jews during World War II, is generally perceived as the most extensive genocide ever to have taken place. The fact that, unlike other genocides in history, it occurred during modern times using modern methods, makes the atrocity different and distinctive while opening up a number of interesting and diverse perspectives of research.

Most of the traditional research dealing with the Holocaust tries to illuminate its absolute uniqueness. The Holocaust is, then, perceived as a rather inaccessible field, at times almost "sacred". More contemporary research, however, tries to point out not the differences but the many similarities between that horrible reality and modern western societies. The Holocaust is observed from a more historical-sociological perspective, rejecting the tendency of traditional studies to portray it as a "semi-metaphysical" event. This standpoint argues that only a direct confrontation with the historical trauma has true value and allows for a society to understand its political meaning and make use of it. In other words: the aim is to "open up the blockage" to allow society to go beyond mere aestheticism and a collective passion to commemorate.

The "Gray Zone", a term coined by Jewish-Italian author Primo Levi (1989) is one of the more relevant terms to modern Holocaust studies. According to Levi, the Gray Zone is defined as the space in which the various chains of cooperation between the murderers and their victims are revealed. In practice, it generally refers to the "functionary prisoners", concentration camp inmates who were given odd jobs in the service of the Nazis in exchange for better survival opportunities. What is particularly unique in this context is that under these circumstances, the mere dichotomy between what is "good" and what is "evil" is no longer as clear as one would expect when observing the reality of the concentration camps.

One of the most prominent figures in the new wave of Holocaust research is the Italian philosopher Georgio Agamben. Agamben is generally known for his critique of modern sovereignty as expounded in his trilogy, "Homo Sacer". In the third part of his trilogy, "Remnants of Auschwitz", he examines the contentious issue of the Gray Zone, giving it a rather perplexing interpretation (Agamben, 1999). In Primo Levi's discussion of the Gray Zone, there is a witnessed description of a soccer match being played before the gates of the crematorium as part of a Sunday morning break. One group of players represented the SS officers and the other represented the "Sonderkommando", the most famous group of functionary prisoners in charge of running the crematoriums. Agamben examines this very same scene in his discussion, posing the question: is this a glimpse of normality, a group of people playing soccer as equals, a moment of grace? According to Agamben, this is, in fact, the true horror of the camps. This manifestation of normal activity as such, in front of the place where thousands of people were being sent to their deaths, makes the atrocity even more inconceivable. This soccer game, he claims, is a game that continues up to this day, played every day, in our soccer stadiums and on our television screens. It is, in fact, an allegory for the ambiguity of modern civilian life. The very notion of civilian life in modern society is its separation from the violence that surrounds it. It points to the many things one has to ignore in order to be able to live a "normal" life. It is a constant manifestation of normality on a background of horror, which is part of modern apathetic existence.

What is so controversial about this argument is not the point it wishes to make about modernity but the fact that the horrors of the Holocaust are woven into daily life. It breaks through the shield of "unspeakability" in order to point out a certain understanding that is very relevant to modern, everyday, "normal" reality. Agamben emphasizes that it allows us to think of our own lives in terms of the many "gray" mechanisms that we are part of and the many distractions that prevent us from observing the violence that surrounds us, even in the most liberal of democracies. The fact that this argument is based on such an extreme situation highlights certain aspects that we would not otherwise be able to perceive.

In general, it can be argued that the study of genocide is based on our common will to learn something from past atrocities and make sure that they will not be repeated. One of the ways to achieve this is to enable a more direct "access" to the study of the Holocaust. In the case of the Gray Zone, for example, there is quite a large corpus of literature addressing the problem. Reading through the extremity in these stories might point out that it is not all that different from the sort of "grayness" that we experience in our day-to-day lives. Trying to understand the reality of the concentration camps using the same methods that are being used to

understand modernity in general, puts the reader in a somewhat awkward position. It cannot be inferred that this literature is of the sort of literature that "sets up a mirror which reflects our lives", but if one reads through the extremity of the concentration camp reality, it does illuminate a certain aspect that is inherent in modern society as a whole and that is familiar to all of us who are living in these societies.

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Representation of the Micronesian Other in Nakajima Atsushi's Mariyan

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Nakajima Atsushi 中島敦 (1909-1942) is one of the many Japanese authors writing at the time of the Japanese colonial period, but Nakamura Kazue (in Tierney, 2005) claims that his short story Mariyan マリヤン is the first postcolonial work in Japanese literature. The most prominent Japanese literary historian Kawamura Minato (1994) maintains that the Japanese Empire constructed its own Orientalism, sometimes called 'popular Orientalism' because it was based on mangas, movies, etc. and not on "high" cultural products like the British or French were. However it did not differ much from its European forerunner. In my presentation I will focus on Nakajima's ways of representing the 'Other' in the Micronesian colonised 'Other' and try to show the turning point of the narrative and how Nakajima was able to break with such a strong discourse as Orientalism was and somehow still is.

Nakajima was born in Tokyo in 1909. Two years later his parents divorced and he lived with his grandmother and aunt until he was six. His father was a teacher of *kanbun* and since salaries were better in the colonies, he decided, in 1920 to move to Keijō (now Seoul) where Nakajima completed high school. At that time Nakajima started to write his first short stories. Even in these works he dealt with problems of colonialism. Sudō (1998) presumes the main theme of his early works was escape (*dassō*). This characteristic indicates the problems he had with his own identity, since Nakajima had no real place that he could call home.

In 1940 Nakajima wrote his most famous novel *Death of the Storyteller* (Tsushitara no shi), which was published two years later under the new title Light, Wind, and Dreams: Excerpts from the Five Rivers Manor Diary 光と風と夢 and which was based on the life of the Scottish writer Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894) even though the two men had never met. With regards to this, two different interpretations exist today. Some literary historians claim that there are no autobiographical motives in the novel since Nakajima used all Stevenson's works he could find

when he was writing this splendid novel.[1] On the other hand there are some supporters of the idea that this is in fact an autobiographical novel par excellence, but Nakajima had to use someone else to express his disagreement with the Japanese colonial system, namely Stevenson, who showed no respect toward the Western colonial system in Samoa.

In 1941 Nakajima was offered the opportunity of going to Micronesia as editor of a new Japanese textbook for local children. During his 10-month stay in Palao he had not only bad experiences (he had serious health problems right from the beginning), but also good experiences, which he wrote about in his later works. Here it has to be emphasized that he was not a member of the so-called "Pen Brigades" but had decided to move because he hoped the warmer climate would help him solve his constant problems with asthma (Kleeman, 2003). His wishes did not materialize and he decided to quit the job. He died some months later at the age of just 33.

Mariyan[2]

Besides letters and postcards to his family and also his diary about the period in Micronesia, Nakajima left us two collections of short stories about these colourful islands. One of them, titled Atolls 環礁, also includes a story about Mariyan, a Micronesian woman of around 30 years old with a child but divorced. The narrator is a somewhat bizarre Japanese colonial official, who has no friends from his office. His only companion is Mister H, a Japanese man who has lived there for a long time and knows the island very well. It is at the latter's place that the narrator meets Mariyan for the first time. She is very well educated since she completed high school in Japan. From the very beginning, Mister H talks for her instead of allowing her to speak for herself, even in her presence, although Mariyan can speak both English and Japanese fluently. She just stands at the side and smiles. Some days later the narrator watches her during her obligatory work on the banana plantation. When she notices him, she is indeed quite embarrassed.

One day, while the narrator and Mister H are walking around the city, they suddenly come to Mariyan's house and without hesitation decide to enter it. When they see her poor house from the inside and find that she is reading Pierre Loti (1850-1923) and Kuriyagawa Hakuson's translation of English poems in Japanese,[3] the narrator finds he has completely ambivalent feelings. He feels

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[1] He also proclaimed once that war and literature had nothing in common (Kleeman, 2003).

[2] For Tierney (2005) this is a story where nothing really happens.

[3] Kuriyagawa Hakuson 廚川白村 (1880-1923) was a Japanese literary critic.

sorry for her, as she is such an example of mimicry (although she can probably read in English the books are in Japanese).

> そういう雰囲気の中で、厨川白村やピエル・ロティを見付けた時は、実際、何だかへんな気がした。少々いたまし気がしたといってもいい位である。尤も、それは、其の書物に対して、いたましく感じたのか、それともマリヤンに対していたいたしく感じたのか、其処迄はハッきり判らないのだが。

I would even say that I found something distressing about the place but I cannot say for sure whether it was the books or Mariyan that pained me. (NAZ, 2. vol., p. 84)

The turning point of the story comes when they talk about Pierre Loti's novel *The Marriage of Loti* and suddenly Mariyan disagrees with the representation of Polynesia.

> 「昔の、それもポリネシヤのことだから、よく分らないけれども、それでも、まさか、こんなことは無いでしょう」(Ibid.)

Naturally, I don't know anything about what went on long ago in Polynesia; still, it is hard to believe that such things could really have happened.

Shortly after this happens the men go back to Japan and despite their promise, they never return.

Analysis

The main characteristic of the narrator is his ambivalent attitude toward Mariyan.[4] He likes her, but on the other hand she irritates him, because she is not “natural” (i.e. she is contrary to his expectations). Mariyan accepts the Japanese culture and language and tries to become as much as possible like a Japanese person. For the narrator this is the crucial reason why he treats her like a cultural anomaly. He cannot understand her cultural hybridity, therefore he feels unsafe. He cannot accept her cultural differences, which according to Edward Said (1996) is completely normal as no culture accepts another culture the way it is but seeks to transform it according to its own criteria. The protagonist disregards that he is also a copy of both Western and Chinese culture. He does not try to discover a reality in Palao, his only aim is to confirm his stereotypes about the place and

[4] The narrator has a similar problem with his own identity, since he is a representative of the colonial power, but intimately rejects this policy (he has no friends from the office).

people, which he brought from metropolitan Japan and which originated in various Western texts about the South Seas. If we accept that the narrator is Nakajima's alter ego, his perceptions are based on Stevenson, Loti etc. Probably it is not wrong to say, as Robert Thierny (2005) suggests, that Nakajima read about the South Seas first, then travelled there. So the image of Micronesia was made long before his own experience. In addition, during modernization Japanese political elites did not only copy the economical system of Western Europe, but also the Eurocentric notion of inferior Others (probably the same is true for the majority of Japanese people). Therefore the Japanese colonial system forced the colonized 'Other' to become "like a Japanese person" as Ann Stoler (2002) suggests in her book about colonial memories in Indonesia. On the other hand they could never reach the same social or political status in Japanese society. We can also presume that Nakajima knew Bōken Dankichi 冒険ダン吉 (The Adventures of Dankichi), a very popular manga in the 1930s that takes place on a lonely island, very similar to Palao. As Yano Tōru suggests the narrator's comments about Mariyan's physical appearance show Bōken Dankichi`s syndrome (in Kawamura, 1994).[5]

As mentioned before, compared to the men, Mariyan is completely inferior almost until the very end. In this orientalistic way of presenting the inferior Other, similar to Flaubert's Kachuk Hanem (Said, 1996), she is not allowed to present herself; only the dominant ruler has the right to talk about her, and this is not only true of the oral sphere, Mariyan is also inferior in terms of visual control. The narrator can watch while she is working, when there is no opportunity for her to watch him. Since she does not know someone is watching her, she cannot perform any active act (for example, hide or change her position). This is her lowest position in the narrative. She is not a subject, she is only a passive object (Tierney, 2005).

Although she is an intellectual, Mariyan has no right to control her time completely. Mariyan is doubly inferior. Firstly, because she is a member of the colonised community and then because she is a woman. With such descriptions of non-Japanese inhabitants of the empire, Japanese colonial ideologists tried to convince other Japanese that they belonged to the "civilised" (i.e. "normal") world (Kawamura, 1996).

When Mariyan rejects the orientalist view of the South Seas, the literary image is broken and the narrator loses all his confidence. Suddenly his true nature is obvious. If she is an independent person, he is weak, infantile, feminine, and thus unable to function in the world where he is not the

[5] From today's ethnic standards, this manga was extremely racist, but at that time such a discourse was considered quite normal.

agent of power. Moreover, now, she has control over him. Her use of a pet name and his passivity shows he has lost the authority he previously had. At this moment Mariyan becomes a subject and the narrator becomes an object. But citing Mariyan's critique of Western literary work, the narrator expresses his solidarity with her position. Like her, he also rejects the Eurocentric way of representing the Other, since the narrator is aware he is a copy too. With this passage the narrator shows his dissatisfaction both with Loti and his own perception of the South Seas. This is the first step in the process of his cultural decolonization. According to Mary Louise Pratt's definition of two types of writers, we can treat Nakajima as a vulnerable narrator of sentimental novels who depicts himself as the lonely suffering victim of his demanding journey (in Tierney, 2005).

Conclusion

As Robert Tierney (ibid.) claims, Nakajima was not necessarily a representative of the Japanese people as a whole but neither was he an isolated figure. I think Nakamura Kazue's proposition from the exordium has been confirmed. As Said (1996) proves, Orientalism is almost an unbreakable discourse, but some artists have enough power to admit their own blindness. Obviously, Nakajima Atsushi is one of them.

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Perception of Identity in Housing Values in Japan: Traditional and Modern Elements in Kanazawa Houses

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Introduction

This text is part of my thesis, where I am examining the relationship between preserving and forming national and individual identity, dwelling culture, house designs, domestic space use, and bodily practices. The research examines social change by analyzing the socio-spatial relations of these concepts. While many facets of spatiality in a domestic context might be analyzed, I will focus on the influence and role it plays in the social construction of designs of dwellings in combination with people's choice.

In this paper I focused only on an analysis and synthesis of the questionnaires, semi-formal interviews and materials collected during fieldwork, which thus entails a consideration of the temporal and spatial dimensions of the house as well as of the perception and expression of identity; indeed, a key function of houses is to anchor people in space and to link them in time. Moreover, it helped to emphasize that the notions of plurality and diversity are increasingly important in Japanese social life.

Research methods

The foundation for my research was, as well as the appropriate literature, fieldwork carried out in the city of Kanazawa situated in the central-northern part of the main Japanese island of Honshū. The research was designed explicitly to explore the formation of spatiality at the domestic level. To this end, I used visually oriented data-gathering techniques to complement participant observation as well as semi-structured and informal interviews and questionnaires. Beginning by drawing a plan of the house, with all furniture included, and photographing the home inside and out, I annotated the plan of the house, indicating with whom they primarily associated each space and each object and who else might use it. In addition to providing a great deal of information, this method proved to be

a less threatening way for many people to enter into personal conversation than did purely verbal interviews conducted outside the house. I used the interviews to elaborate on people's annotations as well as to elicit information about social relations and activities more generally. This process provided multiple perspectives with which to compare my own observations of how space and identity were negotiated through an understanding of traditionalism and modernism in the house environment.

Creation of living space

Research on the dwelling culture is the most genuine because houses are direct expressions of changing values, images, perceptions and ways of life, as well as of certain constancies. The forms and structures of architectural style in the past have expressed the ideology of the era and nation as a whole, but today much more individualism is expressed though dwelling design (Joyce and Gillespie 2000; Low 2003). Research on the spiritual background of dwelling architecture shows elements of philosophy, religion, ethics and individuality in the house, and this despite standardization. Buildings can be studied in different ways. One can look at them chronologically, tracing the development over time either with regards to technique, forms and ideas and thoughts of the designer, or one can study them from a specific point of view (Chambers and Low 1989: 7). My attempt is to link forms of building to life patterns, beliefs and desires, as form is difficult to understand outside the context of its setting, culture and the way of life it shelters. We can regard building as the result of the interaction of man and his environment, aspirations, social organization, world view, way of life, social and psychological needs, economic resources, attitudes to nature, personality, fashions, and the techniques available. There is also important interaction with nature and physical aspects, such as climate, site, materials, structural laws, and visuals, such as the landscape (Lawrence 1989).

Time, space, and material come together at the maximal scale in considering the different trajectories of house configurations within and among regions over many centuries (Joyce and Gillespie 2000: 3). The spatial dimension includes the arrangement of individual furnishings or features and people within the house, the definition of the spatial boundaries of a house, the disposition of houses and their properties within a community whereby the relationships they signify become naturalized along with other features of the landscape, and the socio-political and economical relationships between house societies and their neighbours on a regional level. Gidenns' notion of structuration and Bourdieu's (1977, 2003) concept of habitus both show great sensibility to the incorporation of material time and spatial dimensions of social action. Much of what family and household members experience as the physical structure of the house is in fact the collective

outcome of the agency of others, to live in the past, as Illich has stated, "To dwell means to live in the traces that past living has left." Although we often credit this to a corporate agency, families, households, and houses are composed of and/or constructed by individuals, whose personal agency may at times be compromised but is always working. (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zúñiga 1999: 8–9)

Different types of families and households are embodied in the structure of the building-process of the house and the increasing size of residential houses, apartments and other residences has resulted in a complexity of shapes in this group. It is where space becomes place, and where family relations, gender and class identities are negotiated, contested and transformed. The home is an active moment both in space and time in the creation of individual identity, social relations, and collective meaning.

Findings of field work: Housing values and expression of identity through choice in Kanazawa

Members of different groups choose housing; they migrate, buy or rent and they also design their housing environment and modify housing to make it more acceptable or suitable. People in Kanazawa usually move out of the centre, which is crowded and full of old houses that are supposed to be renovated and not rebuilt. As Kobayashi (1990: 27–30) said Kanazawa is a place which developed under a favourable natural environment. It is a city between two rivers which flow down from high mountains, through the city and down on to the sea and it is a city that has four seasons. Besides the natural environment, the cultural and historical environments also were vital for the development of the Kanazawa castle town. With its very powerful family of Maeda *daimyō* during the Tokugawa period, it grew into a strong and wealthy city, which also influenced the form of its distinctive housing style (Shimamura 1983: 10–16).

The questionnaire and interviews gave us some insights into the way people form their housing environment in Kanazawa. For the questionnaire there were 20 questions. In the first part there were some basic questions about age, sex, type of family; next there were questions about the house such as the year the house was built; whether it was built by themselves or bought or inherited; if it was built, how the plan was drawn up; whose choices and desires were granted; if there were any repairs or rebuilding done to the house. The second part was based on housing values: what is their ideal house, what are their wishes, likes and tastes and values; and the last part was about individual and national identity, life style in an old or new house and physical habits in the home space. The interviews were based on these questions but went more deeply into detail.

Here, I would like to mention the age and sex of the informants as I find it very important for an understanding of the results. Among 85 persons who answered the questionnaire and 25 more with whom I talked about their housing through interviews, more than 90% were women and more than 60% were 55 years old or more.[1] The biggest groups of people who answered the questionnaire were between the ages of 56 to 60, and 61 to 65, among them were mainly old couples or old people living alone as the children had grown up and moved away, and they were retired (especially after 60 years).

The creation of dwelling is a fundamental human activity, enacted by all humans. One's identity is contingent on the sense of belonging to a place. First it is important to look at the special relationship between the house and the people, as Joyce and Gillespie (2000: 136–139) would say "one of the common means of expressing the joint identity of people and houses is conceiving the house as a living being, that is, personifying the house." The 'house', which we can refer to here as *ie* in Japanese, is thus an exemplary symbolic structure represented in multiple material constructions, including actual dwellings (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995: 5–6; Ogita 1974: 96–98). It represents the conjunction of the concrete/visible and the immaterial/invisible components of life. In the past it had an important role as a ritual place, where it was a clearly defined enclosure with precise boundaries, and some traces of this can be seen in modern houses too.

The replies concerning the ideal house show a persisting attachment to values that de-emphasize the individual in favour of family communication, solidarity, and harmonious three-generation co-residence. Despite the greater provision now routinely given to individual privacy within the home, this continuing ambivalence toward individualistic concerns appears to be producing new architectural arrangements that provide personal and intergenerational privacy without erecting permanent barriers between family members (Edwards 1985). This point was stressed by the majority of the informants and was represented in the housing designs which typically divided common, 'public' areas of the home - principally the living and dining rooms - from the 'private' bedrooms of parents and children and the bathroom. It is recognized that educational pressures are partly responsible for this change, since the increasing importance of academic placement makes many parents anxious to provide children with separate rooms so they can study harder. Private

[1] There are many reasons for such discrepancies between men and women and age groups. As I suppose and was also told in the interviews, women like to talk more about their lives, they have more time than men who are at work and one of the reasons in my opinion was also the fact that I was a woman and I could approach them more easily. Concerning the age range, people younger than 40 rarely have their own house; younger families, young couples or singles live in rented or bought apartments or with their parents.

rooms are also places of expression of individual identity, meanwhile national identity, if it is expressed (18%), exists in the "public sphere" of the home. However answers also show that 40 % of Japanese people do not think about national identity in everyday life and as such they do not express it in the house. They also do not separate it from individual identity (30%), but they also admit that their individual identity might be influenced by the government through the market.

In reply to the question: if having traditional elements in the house was connected with national identity; three quarters of the people interviewed answered that it was important to have elements such as *tatami*, *fusuma*, *shōji*, *butsuma*, *tokonoma*, *kakejiku* and so on, in the house, which they recognized as traditional Japanese elements. These elements[2] gave most of the people interviewed a feeling of being Japanese and they would miss these elements in everyday life if deprived of some of them. In other answers we also found statements that these are Japanese traditional elements that cannot be found anywhere else in the world.

The next question, which was related to the previous one, asked whether they liked traditional or modern elements and the reason why. 38% of people who liked more modern elements because they were easier to clean, such as flooring as against *tatami*, or modern elements such as beds as they were more functional and more comfortable, were younger than 45 and 35 years old. Among them were people who grew up in old houses that were cold and damp; they also did not like sitting on *tatami* as their legs hurt and so on. But more than half, 52%, liked both and they were most satisfied when they could combine both kinds of elements in the new houses. People these days use more beds than futons (which are usually used only for guests in the *tatami* room or *zashiki*), they have more rooms with flooring than with *tatami* (although they all admit they need at least one room with *tatami* to relax in after a long day), and they have curtains (although they like soft light coming through *shōji*). Among people who liked Japanese elements more than modern elements were older people who felt much more relaxed and comfortable in a room with *tatami*, *kōtatsu*, *shōji*, as they were used to a traditional style of life. People who built their house just a few years ago, admitted that having a house with only Japanese elements these days was very expensive, so they mostly built a house incorporating contemporary elements with some touch of Japanese elements; as one of them said: "Contemporary elements are useful, functional and comfortable, but traditional elements give you a feeling of connection with the past, an old house has a soul". About having a new house, they

[2] Talking about modern or traditional elements is a never-ending story. Tradition and modernity are not contradictory or exclusive. They are merely two different classes of things which can however interact beneficially. Tradition is still very often considered as a "thing of the past" without any contemporary legitimacy, and modernity is often mistakenly considered as modernism. In contemporary housing we can find both of them mixed into a new contemporary style.

all liked modern elements such as barrier-free areas, sofas, under-floor heating and so on; they all stressed that there were not so many repairs to be done as in an old house with deteriorating equipment and damp and dirty *tatami*. But the flexibility and usefulness of Japanese elements (*zashiki* can be a reception room and a guest room) is worth mentioning, especially in new houses, where people miss the *tatami* room, in houses which do not have them.

This way of thinking, or we can also call it trend or even taste, was also confirmed by the architects I spoke with. The same picture was seen in houses on display at exhibitions such as Open Houses, where major building corporations (trades) display their products. A trend in Kanazawa is a new modern house with open spaces, such as the LDK (living, dining, and kitchen) in one space, bedrooms with flooring and mats and one room with *tatami* as a guest room or room for grandparents. New elements give such houses functionality and usefulness and traditional elements express their connection with past and 'Japanese-ness' or Japanese identity.

Conclusion

Although identity involves the individual's interpretation of self and personal taste, it is a profoundly social concept. Identity is predicated on the fact that people are engaged in a reality that is imbued with meaning by shared symbols of culture. Like identity, dwellings can be conceptualized as meaningful social and cultural objects that are used to demarcate space, to express feelings, ways of thinking and social process. They also provide a place for culturally defined activities as well as providing physical shelter.

Dwelling places are significant symbols of social rank and identity in contemporary societies because dwellings and their furnishings are commodities distributed through the market, families and individuals of different classes which readily translate the difference in economic resources into housing of different size, quality, style and locale (see Hummon 1989: 213–214). This is because there are varied capabilities of social classes to command dwelling places in the market but also because stylized consumption and display become significant elements in the definition and differentiation of social groups within a consumer society and the geographical location also plays an important part.

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SESSION 3.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND GOVERNANCE

Report on the Presentations and Final Discussion held between the Members of Session 3 – Civil Society and Governance

Discussion members : *Asuka Matsumoto, Bing Wang, Lea Vrečko, Nao Kitagawa, Toshihiro Fukunishi, Boštjan Kravanja, Takamune Kawashima, Maja Veselič*

The eight contributions of Session 3, entitled Civil Society and Governance, addressed a number of topics on the relationship between state and society in Japan, Slovenia, China and Sri Lanka approaching them from such various disciplines as political science, sociology, cultural studies, literary studies, information studies, anthropology and archeology. While some contributors described and analyzed the particular phenomena of their respective societies, others used their research work foremost to elucidate important methodological questions.

The majority of papers looked at politics, civil society and the public sphere. Asuka Matsumoto's analysis of the difference between the diplomatic practices of U.S. foreign policy toward Eastern Europe and its presentation in the presidential debates of 1976 and Bing Wang's comparison of the change in speed and nature of the Chinese state press agency's reporting of the three devastating earthquakes that hit the country in 1970, 1978 and 2008 respectively, showed not only the important role of the media and access to information in the building of a public sphere, but also showed how the public's expectations can limit the transparency of political action and openness of the debate. Lea Vrečko's contribution on the inconsistencies between policies of gender equality and the actual political representation of women in Slovenia as well as Maja Veselič's discussion of how, in the case of Islam, the vagueness of Chinese religious legislation allows the government to use the law for political oppression, both scrutinized the discrepancies between discourse and practice in politics. They emphasized the need to pay close attention to policies on the one hand and their implementation and practical outcomes on the other.

Some papers looked beyond politics in the narrow sense, taking a broader social perspective on the influence of political and economic circumstances on public imagination, interpretation, and representation. Tracing the racial transformation of an American literary character from a white into a black person in Japanese animation works in the 1980s, Nao Kitagawa connected this transformation to the increasing popularity of multiculturalism and the struggle against apartheid of the period. While Toshihiro Fukunushi's examination of the shrinking market share of 'difficult' books in Japan and the possible causes for the phenomenon illustrated how

access to information in the public sphere can be limited by what is deemed profitable or not profitable in purely financial terms.

Finally, some contributions were concerned more specifically with methodological issues. Boštjan Kravanja's reflection on his own ethnographic fieldwork in Sri Lanka discussed the epistemological values of first, culture shock and then the feeling of obviousness, which emerges from everyday social engagement in a given research locale, stressing the continued importance of long-term participant observation for socio-cultural anthropology. Takamune Kawashima's critique of dominant archeological and anthropological misconceptions of hunter-gatherer societies, which stem from the colonial period, warned of the ideological nature of the very concepts and theories we use as scientists, calling for greater self-examination.

Based on our Saturday presentations, the following day we discussed the diversity of "civil societies and governance". To examine the problem of "diversity" and explore possible solutions, which Professor Ikeda recommended we think about, we exchanged our ideas about the past and present political, social and cultural situation in Slovenia and Japan, comparing them with each other as well as with the US and China which some members had also researched.

To discuss the political, social and cultural situation, we especially utilized our research themes. These can be summarized into three streams: media politics, minorities and knowledge. Firstly, as for media politics, we concluded that even though there are transformations in media broadcasting means, such as radio, television and the internet and even though there are many kinds of political systems, such as a communist system, a democratic system, a welfare state system, a one-party system or a two-party system, we need to keep examining each of them consistently and in depth. Maja Veselič gave examples of the transformation in media reports and civil movements in Slovenia as it changed from a communist country to a democratic country. Bing Wang gave examples of the changes in mass media and internet usage in China. Asuka Matsumoto gave examples of the media campaign of the two-party and one-party systems and civic movements both in Japan and in the US. Takamune Kawashima gave examples of the tendencies of Japanese newspapers, also introducing a newspaper for the Ainu, a minority group in Japan, and we moved onto the second subject.

Secondly, as for minorities, we discussed three points: the social movement of ethnic groups, racial groups and gender groups. As for ethnicity and race, we saw a similarity between Slovenia and Japan. Although the social problems of minorities are not serious when compared to the US and China, there are also some minority groups, such as the Ainu (native people in Northern Japan) and resident Koreans in Japan, Muslims and gypsies in Slovenia. This could probably give some insights into Nao Kitagawa's topic: the image of "a black" in Japan. Minority groups tend to struggle for equality in both places because it is more difficult for them to make a coalition. As for gender, we mainly discussed women's representation in politics and in the employment context. Lea Vrečko explained the transition of women's representation and social support in Slovenia. The Japanese and Chinese were curious about this data for their own countries.

Thirdly, as for the politics of knowledge, we discussed whether the preservation of difficult knowledge in humanities, such as philosophy, can be regarded as a public policy or not. Toshihiro Fukunishi explained the situation and the importance in Japan.

From these discussions, we reached a form of conclusion in that there must be some sort of circulation: Governance → problematic in civil societies → struggling to solve the problems in civil societies → Accumulating knowledge to analyze and solve the problems in civil societies → Governance. This circulation is sometimes continuous and sometimes it transforms.

Lastly, we also identified some connections with the other sessions: Session 1. - Language and Society, and Session 2. - Tradition and Modernization. The common society, such as the civil society, is related through language in order to understand the world. Modern culture and society is linked to tradition and history. After all, while both language and tradition are based on their society, both are the base of their society.

This was an extraordinary and valuable opportunity for each of us to exchange our ideas with others from different research fields and countries. However, of course, we were not able to finish discussing in detail within the time. We still cannot apprehend the detailed map but we were able to grasp the importance of understanding our position and relation in both the social and the academic worlds. For the future, adding to our own research, we will keep thinking about the larger picture.

Open Debates and Secret Diplomacy: The 1976 US Presidential Debates and US Foreign Policy

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In this study, I will examine the difficult relationship between domestic policy and foreign policy during the US presidential campaign. I utilized the 1976 presidential debate as a case study. In 1976, after a sixteen year gap, President Gerald Ford restarted the practice of holding open presidential debates with his challenger, then Jimmy Carter. However, in the debate, Carter attacked the Ford-Kissinger détente policy as secret diplomacy. Ford counted the Helsinki Accords as his big achievement. However, his comments about Eastern Europe were considered unfavorable not only by US citizens of Eastern European origin but also by the general public. To clarify these contradictions, I analyzed speeches, presidential documents, polls, and media such as newspaper and television advertisements.

Firstly, I classified the previous studies into four categories: (1) polls; (2) speech communication; (3) domestic policy; (4) foreign policy. As for polls, Ford actually led by 1% in polls concerning who won the debate conducted right after it was held (Ford 44% and Carter 43%)[1]. The next evening, the same polls changed to Ford 16% - Carter 62%. Within Presidential debate researcher Kraus's collection of polls[2], a late survey by Gallup showed Carter led by double (Carter 50%, Ford 27%), but the immediate survey by AP News showed that Carter led by just 3 %. The news media recognized that Ford's comment about Eastern Europe was an error and they made so-called "sound bites" of his statement and repeatedly broadcast it. However, there is not enough research about the process of negotiation with Eastern Europe.

Speech analysis of the debates pointed toward the debaters' tendencies to divert the subject

1 Goodwin Berquist, "1976 Presidential Debate." In *Rhetorical Studies of National Political Debate 1960-1988.* Ed. Robert Friedenberg V. (Westport: Praeger, 1994), 35-36.

2 David O. Sears and Steven H. Chaffee, "Uses and Effects of the 1976 Debates: An Overview of Empirical Studies." In *The Great Debates: Carter vs. Ford, 1976*. ed Sydney Kraus. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 228-240.

and interrupt one another, but they did not mention the Eastern European policy itself[3]. Recent presidential debate studies covered the Ford debates and one of the researchers and the former speech writer Goodwin arranged the previous analysis. However, it does not directly approach the relationship between Ford's statement on Eastern Europe in the debate and his foreign policy towards Eastern Europe.

As for the study of Ford's foreign policy towards Eastern Europe, there are past negative evaluations and recent positive ones. Dobriansky criticized Ford's statement in Ukraine Studies[4]. However, it was difficult to know about secret diplomatic materials. Ribuffo, who worked for the Ford administration connects arguments about Poland with the presidential debates[5]. However, he dealt with Poland as a case study and did not focus on Hungary and Czechoslovakia, which Ford also mentioned in the debate.

On the other hand, Ford's human right diplomacy on CSCE has been recently re-evaluated by new research such as Krey, Campbell and Mastny[6]. However, they do not connect Ford's foreign policy with his comment in the 1976 debate.

Therefore, I have tried to connect the four categories of the previous studies with the historical research of Ford's foreign policy and his campaign materials. To clarify the relationship between open debate and secret diplomacy, I utilized the following historical, narrative and statistic analyses and materials. I examined: 1) the televised debate itself with the DVD and its transcript; 2) foreign policy materials and transcripts of meetings with US citizens of Eastern European origin from Ford's biography and from the Ford library; 3) candidates' election materials and media strategy with Ford and Carter campaign documents from both the Presidential libraries and polls and news media materials.

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3 Warren E. Bechtolt, Jr. Joseph Hilyard, and Carl L. Bybee, "Agenda Control in the 1976 Debates: A Content Analysis" in *The Great Debates: Carter vs. For*d, 1976. ed Kraus, Sydney. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 1979.

Lloyd F. Bitzer and Theodore Ruete, *Carter vs. Ford: The Counterfeit Debate of 1976*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1980).

4 Lev E. Dobriansky, "The Unforgettable Ford Gaffe." *Ukrainian Quarterly,* 3 (1977): 366-377.

5 Leo P. Ribuffo, "Is Poland a Soviet Satellite?: Gerald Ford, the Sonnenfeldt Doctrines, and the Election of 1976." *Diplomatic History* 14, no3 (1990): 385-4-3.

6 William Korey, *The Promise We Keep: Human Rights, The Helsinki Process, and American Foreign Policy*. (New York: St. Martin's Process: 1993). Campbell, John C, "European Security After Helsinki: Some American Views." *Government and Opinion*. 11, no. 3. (1976): 322-36. Mastny, Vojtec, *Helsinki, Human Rights, and European Securities: Analysis and Documentation.* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press: 1985).

1. Presidential debate speech

From the presidential speech, we can see three main agendas about the Helsinki Agreement between Ford and Carter: (1) Détente policy; (2) Foreign Policy toward Eastern Europe; and (3) secrecy about public policies. Firstly, as for détente policy including the Helsinki Agreement, Carter disagreed with Ford's détente policy, saying "We've lost in our foreign policy (détente) the character of the American people." On the other hand, Ford responded to Carter by saying "Not a single young American today is fighting or dying on any foreign battlefield". He concluded that American people were not fighting and dying thanks to the détente policy.

Secondly, as for foreign policy towards Eastern Europe, Ford claimed that Eastern Europe was free thanks to the détente policy such as the Helsinki Agreement, saying "there is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe" and people in Eastern Europe do not "consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union." His view point was from people in Eastern Europe. However, Carter strongly disagreed with Ford's statement, saying, "the Polish-Americans and the Czech-Americans and the Hungarian-Americans in this country" thought that their countries were under domination.

Thirdly, as for secret diplomacy, Carter criticized Ford's foreign policy, saying "in the secrecy that has surrounded our foreign policy in the last few years, uh - the American people, the Congress have been excluded" without mentioning Watergate and the Helsinki Agreement. Even though Ford agreed to hold a presidential debate, Carter criticized Ford's information policy, saying, "We also have seen Mr. Ford exclude himself from access to the public. He hasn't had a tough cross-examination-type press conference in over thirty days. One press conference he had without sound." Carter censured Ford for not having enough public speeches about his foreign policy. Ford tried to respond to Carter's attack, explaining "I have made, myself, at least ten speeches in various parts of the country where I have discussed with the American people defense and foreign policy." Ford also insisted that he had discussions with many countries and reported on his negotiations to Congress, saying "I have averaged better than one meeting a month with responsible groups or committees of the Congress - both House and Senate." Both arguments collided with one another on the definition of "secrecy", but it was rare to have ten speeches, even at the time. If so, what kind of negotiations did Ford have with the Eastern European countries?

2. Helsinki Accords and Negotiations with Eastern Europe in 1975

As for the negotiation process with Eastern Europe, from diplomatic documents, we can see three stages: (1) official statement in 1975; (2) negotiation with Eastern Europe; (3) negotiation with Soviet Union for Eastern Europe.

Firstly, officially, right before going to Helsinki, Ford had a meeting with US Congressmen and activists of Eastern European origin[7]. The participants expected to make the situation in Eastern Europe better, by having Ford's speech in Helsinki reach the Eastern European people through the Iron Curtain with VOA etc. Ford had a long speech about hope for the Helsinki Agreement and proposed to make the world better without war but with dialogue… Ford said that he did not want to put "The United States Boycotts Peace and Hope" in European news as a headline, even though then the US news headlines read "Jerry, don't go".

Secondly, while Ford was in Europe, Ford's Secretary of State asked him to reply immediately to a letter from Congressman Beckaitis of the state of Virginia[8]. The letter criticized the Helsinki Accords for recognizing the national borders of the Soviet Union, describing it as the same as the Munich appeasement between Stalin and Hitler.

After Ford came back to the U.S, a monitor of the Helsinki Accords, Mr. Clif, sent a letter to Kissinger. Kissinger gave it to Ford[9]. According to the letter, Clif requested that they release the quarter political report about the Helsinki Accord. Clif mentioned that the criticism about Helsinki had increased within ethnic groups and the US media. Clif introduced some foreign presidents who thought that the Soviet Union seemed to be oppressing Europe and would expand to another area next.

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7 July 25, 1975, Ford, Kissinger, Congressmen, Eastern Europe Advocates (Memoranda of Conversations), Gerald R. Ford Papers, National Security Advisor, Memoranda of Conversations, 1973-1977, Box 14. Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

8 July 31, 1975, General Subject Files, Conference and Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1975 (4) WH, National Security Adviser, NSC Europe, Canada, and Ocean Affairs Staff Files, Box 44, Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

9 Memorandum for Kissinger, General Subject Files, Conference and Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1974 WH, National Security Adviser, NSC Europe, Canada, and Ocean Affairs Staff Files, Box 44, Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

However, in the negotiation process, Ford and the leaders of Eastern European countries such as Poland[10], Czechoslovakia, Rumania[11], and Yugoslavia, mainly talked about economic support for Eastern Europe and military alliance with the U.S. Ford seldom asked for immediate cultural and information exchange, even though in public, but criticism concerning the Helsinki Agreement had increased within ethnic groups and the US media while he was in Europe.

Thirdly, Ford also had a meeting with the Soviet ambassador[12]. The Soviets wanted to have a grain trade, but agreed that grain exports from the U.S. had been stopped because the grain market had become unbalanced. Ford asked to import oil from the Soviet Union instead of exporting the grain again. They decided to talk about trading and the SALT Agreement in Helsinki more, but they did not talk about human rights or freedom of information in Eastern Europe at this meeting.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the Eastern European leaders asked Ford for economic support and that Ford asked them to agree to military agreements for the main part and hardly mentioning the protection of human rights at all. There was a trade agreement between the US and Eastern Europe. I would now like to examine how Ford tried to explain his diplomacy in his campaign of 1976.

3. Campaign Preparation of 1976

We can see Ford's campaign with relation to his foreign policy from the campaign materials in terms of: (1) détente; (2) media strategies; (3) polls. Ford restarted televised debates and tried a strong media campaign, but, on the other hand, there was too much belief in his foreign policy and miscalculation of the relationship between polls and media coverage.

Firstly, as for the détente policy, right after Ford defeated Ronald Reagan to become the Republican candidate, Ford had a meeting with Kissinger about his foreign policy and

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10 July 28, 1975, Ford Polish First Security Edward Gierek, General Subject Files, Conference and Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1975 (4) WH, National Security Adviser, NSC Europe, Canada, and Ocean Affairs Staff Files, Box 44, Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

11 Ford, Kissinger, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausesucu, General Subject Files, Conference and Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1975 (4) WH, National Security Adviser, NSC Europe, Canada, and Ocean Affairs Staff Files, Box 44, Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

12 July 23, 1975, Ford, Kissinger, Soviet Ambassador Anatdi F. Dobrynin.

preparation for the campaign[13]. They thought that they needed to focus on problems with Carter's foreign policy. Kissinger thought that Carter had weak diplomatic viewpoints and that they should not stop campaigning and Ford wanted to conduct a strong campaign. However, after the first debate, the White House arranged for a person from the European Community to monitor whether everyone was following the Helsinki Accords[14]. Moreover, after the second debate, Ford had a meeting with ethnic leaders from Eastern European communities such as Rumanian Americans[15]. The leaders strongly criticized Ford`s statement on Soviet domination and the meeting was broken up.

Secondly, as for media strategy, before the debate day, the Ford Campaign headquarters issued a report and insisted that Ford needed to change his image to that of a powerful president with good decision-making abilities[16]. On the other hand, they thought it was too difficult and too poorly funded to change the image of Ford's philosophy to one that looked at long-term vision. They thought that Ford needed both to avoid attacks by the media and promote a media campaign by himself to change the minds of 15% of voters. They stated that it was more important how the television watchers and newsreaders perceived Ford rather than Ford's character itself. Here, their media strategy was related to the polls.

Thirdly, as for polls, Ford campaign staff Bobbie G. Kilberg asked Bud McFarlane to take the immediate occasion to explain the Helsinki Accords in public as being their achievement, right after the first debate, because there was not any question about it[17]. During the debate day and the next day, while the debate was going on, they thought that Ford was winning and that there was not a big impact of his statement about Eastern Europe by looking at their private polls[18].

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13 August 30, 1976, Ford Kissinger, (memoranda of conversations) Box 20, Gerald Ford Presidential Library

14 "Press Announcement for Executive Branch Participants in CESE Commission" General Subject Files, Conference and Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1976 (5) WH, National Security Adviser, NSC Europe, Canada, and Ocean Affairs Staff Files, Box 45, Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

15 "Hungarian Ethnic Hearing Study Group, Studies," Office of Public Liaison, Myron Kuropas Files 1976-77, Special Assistance for Ethnic Affairs Slovenian, Box 6, Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

16 Campaign Strategy, Campaign Media Plan, August 1976, Gerald Ford Presidential Library

17 "Basket lll Provisions of the Helsinki Pact," General Subject Files, Conference and Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1976 (4) WH, National Security Adviser, NSC Europe, Canada, and Ocean Affairs Staff Files, Box 44, Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

18 Second Debate, Polling information, Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library

4. Conclusion

With the above examination of historical materials and studies, this report clarifies the features and risks of media politics which appeared in the second debate of 1976. President Ford tried to hold a media campaign by restarting televised open debates. On the other hand, Ford needed to escape from attacks by Carter and the media about Ford-Kissinger secret diplomacy. Furthermore, Ford tried to bargain for the acceptance of Soviet borders, economic support for the anti-nuclear proliferation agreement and the forming of an alliance with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, but it was difficult to reveal the negotiations in public. It couldn't help being "a secret diplomacy." As time has gone by, media politics have become deeper and more complex. This research could also have implications for the present political situation.

The Construction of a "Public Sphere" in Chinese Mass Media: The Case of the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake

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Introduction

Since the market-oriented reforms and the Open Door policy were introduced in 1978, China's mass media is facing a great dilemma between commercialization and political control from the Communist Party (the CCP) and the government.

Before the reforms, China's mass media was fully supported financially by the government and was known as an organ of the state among most scholars in the field of political communications[i]. But this changed after 1978; most state media no longer receive large government subsidies and they are largely expected to pay for themselves through commercial advertizing. As a result, they can no longer serve solely as mouthpieces of the government but must produce programming that people find attractive and interesting so that money can be generated through advertising revenue. As a result, criticisms against the government have increased in news reportage, and mass media has become a catalyst to shape public opinion in the political realm.

Nevertheless, there is still heavy government involvement in the Chinese media and there are certain taboos and red lines within the media, such as questioning the legitimacy of the CCP. Yet, within these restrictions, there is a vibrancy and a diversity in the media and fairly open discussion of social issues and policy options.

Based on this dilemma, my research will focus on the political role of the Chinese media in contemporary China and how the Chinese media is building a Public Sphere[ii] as a space for discussion of Chinese citizens through an analysis of the case of the 2008 Sichuan earthquake. This research will contribute to demonstrate the structure of society and politics in present day China.

Evolution of the Chinese media

In this paper, as well as the 2008 Sichuan earthquake, I will present the other two major earthquakes; namely the 1970 Tonghai earthquake and the 1976 Great Tangshan earthquake. In comparing the news reportages of these three quakes, the changes in the speed of the reportages, the true nature and number of casualties and the embodiment of humanism will be demonstrated.

At first, to look at the news articles on the 2008 Sichuan earthquake: the quake occurred at 2:28 p.m. on May 12, in the Sichuan province of China; eighteen minutes later, at 2:46 p.m., the Xin Hua News Agency (XHNA), the biggest official press agency of the government in China, reported the news on the internet and also gave the information from the China Earthquake Administration[iii] that the earthquake measured a magnitude of 7.8; then, at 3:38 p.m., the news was quoted on the internet by The People's Daily, an organ of the Communist Party of China[iv]. The whole process can be simplified as in Table 1.

Table 1. The facts concerning the 2008 Sichuan earthquake

Time	Event
2:28 p.m. on May, 12	occurrence of the earthquake
2:46 p.m.	XHNA reported the news on the internet giving the magnitude
3:38 p.m.	The People's Daily reported the news on the internet

Data from the news database of the XHNA and The People's Daily.

On the other hand, in the Tonghai earthquake of 5 Jan, 1970, the XHNA's reportage on 9 Jan, 1970 did not mention the correct location, the correct magnitude or the number of casualties[v]. This information, which should have been reported immediately, was only formally released 30 years later, in 2000. This is shown in Table 2 below.

On 29 July, 1976, The People's Daily reported the Great Tangshan earthquake which occurred on 28 July, 1976 in the same way[vi]. This quake was reported to the world in detail 3 years later, in 1979[vii]. This is shown in Table 3 below.

Table 2. The facts concerning the 1970 Tonghai earthquake

Category	Earthquake	Reportage in 1970	Reportage in 2000
Location	Tonghai,Yunnan province	Somewhere in southern Yunnan province	Tonghai ,Yunnan province
Date	1:0:37 a.m., 5 Jan, 1970	7 Jan,1970	16 Jan, 2000
Magnitude	7.7	Not mentioned	7.7
Casualties	15,621 dead, 26,783 injured	Not mentioned	15,621 dead, 26,783 injured

Data from The People's Daily and the China Youth Paper

Table 3 The facts concerning the 1976 Tangshan earthquake

Category	Earthquake	Reportage in 1970	Reportage in 1979
Location	Tangshan, Hebei province	Tangshan, Hebei province	Tangshan, Hebei province
Date	3:42:53 a.m., 28 July, 1976	29 July, 1976	22 Nov, 1979
Magnitude	7.8	Not mentioned	7.8
Casualties	Highly controversial 242,419 to 779,000 dead	Not mentioned	242,000 dead, 164,000 injured

Data from The People's Daily and the XHNA.

In addition, the government refused foreign aid. Even the newspapers called for the people to "stand up by ourselves without the help of Western aid"[viii].

From these changes, we can say the Chinese government today has become far more open, flexible, and active toward the outside world. As well as accepting foreign aid and relief workers, the government has also made the disaster completely open to the foreign media. The New York Times on July 29, 2008 quoted a professor of the University of Peking, "This is the first time that the Chinese media have lived up to international standards"[ix] and The Los Angeles Times praised China's media coverage of the quake as being democratic[x].

Research Methodology

These changes show the dilemma between the forces of commercialization and political control from the Communist Party (the CCP) and the government. I will attempt to examine this dilemma, as detailed below:

Firstly, I collected and analyzed news articles of natural disasters in China from the 1960s to the present day. These large-scale disasters include the Xingtai earthquake in 1966, the Tonghai earthquake in 1970, the Tangshan earthquake in 1976, the Lancang earthquake in 1988, the Lijiang earthquake in 1996 and the Sichuan earthquake in 2008. The reportage of these natural disasters will demonstrate the changes in the Chinese media's ideology and also the changes in upper level-CCP and government ideology.

Secondly, I compared the media outlets of mainland China with outside reportages, such as the Japanese media and the American media in the case of the 2008 quake. The comparison will delineate the dilemma of the Chinese media and demonstrate the main features of the Chinese media.

Thirdly, I introduced the concept of "Public Sphere" presented by the German scholar J. Habermas. By, for example in the case of the Sichuan earthquake, examining how the mass media provided a "public sphere" where Chinese citizens could openly discuss issues and where a new dynamism of grass-roots political change in contemporary China could exist.

Conclusion

Since the reforms were introduced in 1978, concurrently with the commercialization of the Chinese media, we can see that the Chinese media is getting more and more open through an analysis of the reportages of natural disasters. The media is also becoming a key forum where Chinese citizens can express their opinions. It is apparent that today the Chinese media is able to defend the people's right to information and their right to access the political realm. In China, a "public sphere" for discussion for the people, provided by the mass media, can exist.

Notes

[i] The most well-known attempt to clarify the link between the mass media and the political society was introduced by Frederick S. Siebert in 1963, and presented in "Four Theories of the Press" by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm. The four theories of the press consist of authoritarian theory, libertarian theory, Soviet theory and social responsibility theory. China's mass media was regarded as falling under Soviet theory by Siebert. It has been widely accepted and utilized by media scholars. Nevertheless, a critical evaluation shows that Siebert's theories are outdated and too simplistic to be useful in today's media research.

[ii] The public sphere is an area in social life where people can get together and freely discuss and identify societal problems, and through that discussion influence political action. Most contemporary conceptualizations of the public sphere are based on the ideas expressed by Jürgen Habermas in his "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere – An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society. Jürgen Habermas believed that the development of mass media was a crucial factor in the transition from an absolutist regime to a liberal-democratic society

[iii] Title: "The 7.8 magnitude-strong earthquake occurred in Wenchuan county , Sichuan province" was quoted from the website of the XHNA (www.xinhua.cn) at 14:26:49, 12 May, 2008.

[iv] Title"The 7 magnitude earthquake occurred in Southern Yunnan province, somewhere" was quoted by The People's Daily on 9 Jan, 1970

[v] Title "The Tonghai earthquake was released 30 years later" was quoted from the China Youth Paper on 16 Jan, 2000

[vi] Title"A strong earthquake occurred on Tangshan, Hebei province" was quoted from the People's Daily on 29 July, 1976

[vii] Title:"the journalist told us the process of how the Tangshan earthquake was released" quoted from the website of the XHNA(www.xinhua.cn) on 28 July, 2006. In this reportage, the XHNA's news of the 1976 Tangshan earthquake of 22 Nov, 1979 was quoted.

[viii] see notes 5 and 7.

[ix] Title "A Rescue in China, Uncensored" was quoted from The New York Times. Retrieved on 29 July, 2008.

[x] Title "China's Old Ways Shaken by the Quake" was quoted from The Los Angeles Times on 29 July, 2008

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Political Representation of Women in Slovenia

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I will try to examine the main reasons for the under-representation of women in politics in the case of the Republic of Slovenia.

We live in a society which we say is a democracy. Throughout history there have been many different kinds of democracy: the ancient *Athenian democracy* or *participatory democracy* where citizens were directly involved in decision-making; we also know of *direct democracy* or *rule of the people*, examples of which countries were and still are socialist or ex-socialist republics, though many objected to calling a one party system a democracy (although countries call(ed) themselves democratic societies), etc. Nowadays, the concept of democracy is quite different. We talk about *representative* or *liberal democracy* which is a form of government founded on the principles of people's representatives. These representatives form an independent ruling body (for an election period) charged with the responsibility of acting in the people's interest within the framework of the "rule of law"[1].

The question here lies in the field of representatives. Who are the representatives of the people? Are they, as was customary practice in history, white men of the upper classes? Is it normal and right if there are only men representing the people in national structures?

Democracy, by definition, cannot afford to be gender blind. Women's political rights are an undivided part of human rights and these rights are a fundamental part of democracy[2]. All people have equal rights regardless of their ethnicity, race, gender, faith, political or other convictions, material standing, birth, education, social status, or any other personal circumstances. These human rights and fundamental freedoms are guaranteed in the 14th Article of the *Constitution of*

[1] HELD, David (1994). *Prospects for Democracy*, Polity Press: Oxford, Cambridge, pp 15.

[2] KARAM, Azza, *Introduction: Gender and Democracy – Why?* In: KARAM, Azza (ed.) (1998). *Women in Parliaments – Beyond Numbers*, International IDEA: Stockholm, pp 8.

the Republic of Slovenia[3], which also determines Slovenia as a democratic republic governed by the rule of law and social state. As well as prohibition of gender discrimination it recognises equality between women and men as a fundamental principle of democracy.

All through history, women and men alike obtained only some human rights, rights had to be fought for and as one of the last women were given political rights. Actually the term "given" is not correct, as women had to fight for these rights; they were not just simply handed to them. This was true not only of Slovenia, but of countries all around the world as well.

The suffragette movement is well known, and women in Wyoming in 1869 were the first to be entitled to vote. In Europe, Finland was the first country where women were entitled to vote and to be voted for, this was in 1906. A turning point in women's political rights in Slovenia or we had better say in Yugoslavia (Slovenia was part of Yugoslavia from 1945 - 1990) was the Second World War, although Slovenian women were fighting for their rights before the Second World War, not only for the political rights of women but for economic independence as well. A key association fighting for women's rights was the *Association of (Female) Teachers*, which in 1912 demanded political rights for women. But the climate, the cultural and political environments, was not yet ready for such a step. After the breakdown of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire after the First World War, women again demanded their political rights. But all political parties, including the liberals, were afraid of what would happen if women were given political rights. *The right* as well as *the left* had their own fears; they were afraid that women would vote for the opposite party, so *the right* was afraid that women would vote for the left and vice versa[4].

The cultural as well as political environment changed after the Second World War. Women fought for their political rights during the liberation movement when they were an active and supportive party of the Liberation Front which was fighting fascism and Nazism. Women first voted in 1943 in the liberated areas of Slovenia, these were elections for Slovenian delegates of the Liberation Front, they were then entitled to vote in 1946 in elections for the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Yugoslavia[5]. From 1945 to 1990 Yugoslavia (and Slovenia as a part of Yugoslavia) was a socialist republic and under the influence of the ideas of Karl Marx,

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[3] *Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia*, <www.dz-rs.si/?id=150>, (1. 11. 2008).

[4] ANTIĆ, G., Milica (1999). *Pomen volilne pravice za ženske*. In: ANTIĆ, G, Milica (ed.) (1999). *Naše žene volijo!*, Urad za žensko politiko, Ljubljana, pp 17, 18.

[5] KOZMIK, Vera (1999). Ob 55. obletnici volitev, na katerih so v Sloveniji prvič volile tudi ženske. In: ANTIĆ, G, Milica (ed.) (1999). Naše žene volijo!, Urad za žensko politiko, Ljubljana, pp 104.

Frederich Engels and socialism, which declared that all subordinated working people should be liberated and equal.

But why, after 62 years of having gained political rights, are women in Slovenia still under-represented in politics?

To improve the status of women, in 2002, the *Act on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men*[6] was adopted in Slovenia. This act is important because it defines gender equality and equal treatment of women and men as a governmental policy and introduces *gender mainstreaming* as a strategy for achieving gender equality in all spheres of life, both private and public.

Furthermore, in 2004, Slovenia accepted an additional law, *The Implementation of the Principle of Equal Treatment Act*[7], which upgraded the legal basis for ensuring equal treatment of persons in all areas of social life, irrespective of personal circumstances and gender. But nevertheless it seems that politics is one of the areas of public life where women do not have equal participation.

As stated before, according to legislation, women and men in Slovenia are legally equal. However, equal legal status does not provide for gender equality in practice, or how else can we explain that after seventeen years of independence and after 62 years of political rights of women, women are still under-represented in the National Assembly?

There is much to be done in the political culture in Slovenia and the general environment within the political parties in Parliament, which could encourage or stimulate and even, on the other hand, be an impediment. As one of the female Members of Parliament with the longest period as a representative in the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, since 1992, Majda Potrata says, there *is a difference in addressing women and in addressing men*[8]. When the media talk about women in politics they always mention their looks, as in the latest case concerning the Slovenian Liberal Democrats; the president of the party is a woman, and an article published on the website of the National Radio and Television station said: she is smart, she knows what she is doing and moreover she is beautiful. It is often remarked that a woman has *learned well how to*

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[6] *Act on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men*, <www.uem.gov.si/en/legislation_and_documents/>, (1. 11. 2008).

[7] *The Implementation of the Principle of Equal Treatment Act,* < www.uem.gov.si/en/legislation_and_documents/>, (1. 11. 2008).

[8] POTRATA, Majda, Speech on Conference at the 60th anniversary of the *Declaration of Human Rights* and the 20th anniversary of establishment of *Amnesty International of Slovenia*, Faculty of Arts, 5.11. 2008.

appear in public and to give a speech and so on. This is never said of a man who is new to the field of politics. There are still *stereotypes* that women are not suited to politics, that politics is dirty. Women are often asked how they *reconcile work and family life*, men are rarely asked this kind of question. But nevertheless, in recent years it seems that these stereotypes are vanishing and slowly, but surely, changes in the way people think are happening.

But until such times come, to increase women's representation in politics, appropriate mechanisms must be provided including legislation and special measures, not only on the level of national structures but within the political parties as well. These measures should facilitate the entry and participation of women in politics. Furthermore, for a woman to succeed in politics, she has to have the support of a wider social and political environment. The most fundamental factor is political culture within the political parties and the political bodies at local, national and transnational level.

This year's elections for the National Assembly, held on September 21st, were a turning point because an *Addendum to the Act on Elections for National Assembly*[9] came into force and therefore so did mandatory gender quotas. In connection to quotas or the *electoral gender quota system*, the term is often seen as positively discriminatory, more appropriate terminology would be a *positive measure* which is a measure for achieving equal opportunities and be a temporary measure. However, quotas setting a minimum number of women should help achieve at least a *critical minority*; usually this minimum is 30 to 40 per cent. The quota system can be constructed as gender natural as well, which means that the aim would be to correct the under-representation of women or men. Quotas in Slovenia for the 2008 national elections set a minimum percentage of women on each political party's candidate list at 25 per cent.

If we examine the proportion of women on candidate lists for this year's elections, we can see that all parliamentary parties put more than 25 per cent of women on their candidate list, to be more exact, around 30 per cent of women.

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[9] *An Addendum to the Act on Elections for the National Assembly,* <zakonodaja.gov.si/rpsi/r05/predpis_ZAKO185.html>, (2.11.2008).

Number and proportion of women on candidate list for elections to the National Assembly[10]

Political party	No. of all candidates	No. of female candidates	Proportion of women candidates (%)
SDS	80	26	32,50
LDS	82	26	31,71
SD	88	32	36,36
NSi	88	24	27,27
SLS+SMS	86	25	29,07
SNS	64	26	40,63
Desus	88	28	31,82
Zares	86	26	30,23
Lipa	78	31	39,74
Total	740	244	32,97

And how many were elected to the National Assembly?[11]

Political party	No. of all candidates	No. of all members elected to National Assembly	No. of women elected to National Assembly	Proportion of women elected to National Assembly (%)
SDS	80	28	2	7,14
LDS	82	5	1	20,00
SD	88	29	8	27,50
NSi	88	Party was not elected to National Assembly	/	/
SLS+SMS	86	5	0	0,00
SNS	64	5	0	0,00
Desus	88	7	0	0,00
Zares	86	9	1	11,11
Lipa	78	Party was not elected to National Assembly	/	/
Members of minority	9	2	0	0,00
Total	740	90	12	13,30

[10] <www.uem.gov.si/fileadmin/uem.gov.si/pageuploads/Analiza2008-final2.doc>

[11] <www.uem.gov.si/fileadmin/uem.gov.si/pageuploads/Analiza2008-final2.doc>, (1. 11. 2008).

***Proportion of candidates and women elected to the National Assembly*[12]**

Political parties in National Assembly for 2008 – 2012 mandate	Proportion of women candidates on political party's candidate lists (%)	Proportion of women elected to National Assembly (%)
SDS	32,50	7,14
LDS	31,71	20,00
SD	36,36	27,50
SLS+SMS	29,07	0,00
SNS	40,63	0,00
Desus	31,82	0,00
Zares	30,23	11,11
Total	32,97	13,33

***Comparison of elections*[13]**

Year of elections	Proportion of women elected to National Assembly (%)
1990	18,7
1992	13,3
1996	7,8
2000	13,3
2004	12,2
2008	13,3

According to the above data we could say that the gender quota did not work, but we have to take into account the specifics of the Slovenian Electoral System.

Slovenia is divided into 8 electoral units and each electoral unit into 11 electoral districts. All parties run their candidacy in every district, that is, in all 88 electoral districts[14].

[12] Ibidem.

[13] ANTIĆ, Gaber, Milica, Lecture on Conference at the 60th anniversary of *Declaration of Human Rights* and the 20th anniversary of establishment of *Amnesty International of Slovenia*, Faculty of Arts, 5.11. 2008.

[14] Ibidem.

If a political party wants a particular candidate elected, they must run this candidate in a district where the party has the most possibility of winning, in other words, in a district which is known to be favourable towards that specific political party.

Before the elections, political parties make an analysis of favourable and unfavourable districts. So this means the party knows where they have the most possibilities of winning and it is up to the political party to put a woman up for election in a favourable district.

An analysis made by Entelehia for the Office of Equal Opportunities showed that only 30 per cent of all female candidates ran in favourable districts and according to the analysis only these women had a chance of being elected to the National Assembly[15]. So it is hard to say that the gender quotas did not work, they set the minimum, but the rest was up to the political parties themselves.

As mentioned above, it is not only through legislation, mechanisms and measures, but a lot has to be done also within the political parties themselves, the parties have to give opportunities to female candidates, encourage women to put their candidacy on their lists and of course let them run in a district which is favourable towards that political party.

After the elections, and with only 13,3 per cent of female members in National Parliament, a lot has to be done in political culture, not only within the political parties where they must give opportunities to women, but at the same time within society as a whole. A lot has to be done to break gender stereotypes, such as the notion that women are not suited to politics. Further, women have to be encouraged to enter politics and should be given the self-confidence to enable them go into politics.

[15] <www.uem.gov.si/fileadmin/uem.gov.si/pageuploads/Analiza2008-final2.doc>, (1. 11. 2008).

Politics of Translation and Racial Transformation

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The history of translation and adaptation in Japan

Little Women is a novel by the American author Louisa May Alcott written in 1868. This book is the coming-of-age story of the four March sisters. It was originally translated into Japanese in 1906 and since then it has been translated and adapted into various versions and media. The 1949 American film is one of the most famous adaptations, and in Japan, there are four animated versions: 1977, 1980, 1981 and 1987, where the first three versions were influenced by the American film from 1949. In Alcott's book, Hannah, the servant of the March family, is not specifically illustrated as white or black, yet in the American film and the first three Japanese adaptations, she is portrayed as white. A drastic change in Hannah's racial description took place in 1987 when she was transformed into an African-American in the Japanese *anime* version. This animated version of *Little Women* was broadcast on television throughout the year and it influenced the subsequent adaptations of *Little Women* in Japan, particularly Hannah, in musicals as well as illustrations in children's books. Thus, after 1987, Hannah became known as a black servant in Japan. The purpose of this present study is to consider this curious cultural phenomenon. Here, we have to ask why Hannah's racial transformation occurred at this specific historical moment and why Hannah became African-American in Japan. In order to address this issue, we need to situate the *anime* in the social and political context of Japan in the 1980s, which saw at the same time both a shift and a tension in its racial understanding.

What kind of shift in the Japanese understanding of race was taking place in the 1980s?

In the 1980s Japan was affected by the worldwide trend of multiculturalism. In one of his interviews, Shoji Sato, the project manager of the 1987 Japanese *anime* version, said that : "when I choose to work on an animation, I consider 'the time' that the audience demands. " This is an ambiguous expression. But I suspect that he was referring to the trend of

multiculturalism in the 1980s when the Japanese audience became more and more aware of race issues to address a peaceful coexistence of various racial or ethnic groups. There were several political movements involving race issues around the 1980s. For instance, UNESCO pronounced its Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice in 1978 and called on its member countries to implement the declaration. The latter half of the 1980s was also the time when the apartheid policy in the Republic of South Africa was exposed to intense criticism from the global community. These anti-racist ideas set many countries on a trend to celebrate democracy and multiculturalism. In the U.S., a project of multicultural education was enthusiastically promoted.

Yet, despite such a multicultural world trend, the Japanese version of multiculturalism was still shaky and would seem to be cosmetic from the perspective of other countries. Under the apartheid policy, the Japanese contented themselves to remain “Honorary Whites”. Because Japan was a major trade partner for South Africa, the Japanese secured status as honorary whites after 1961. Another prominent example of Japanese ambivalence toward multiculturalism can be seen in the remarks of Nakasone, the former Japanese Prime Minister. He made a racially insensitive comment on the United States in 1986, a year before the animation *Little Women* was made. He said, the reason America's social intelligence was lower than Japan's, was due to the ethnic diversity in American society, which consisted of many blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. This comment was subject to severe criticism from the American side. In his defense, Nakasone pronounced that Japan was a homogeneous country. (This comment of “homogeneous country” has since often been used by Japanese politicians.) However, Japan is not a homogeneous country and this comment was also exposed to criticism, this time from within Japan － especially from the Ainu people, a native people of Japan.

These examples demonstrate some controversies surrounding multiculturalism in Japan. Indeed, I would suggest that the 1980s was a transition period when the race problem came to be recognized as a problem in Japan as well. It was in such a milieu that the Japanese *anime*, *Little Women*, inscribed a black presence in the otherwise all-white story of *Little Women*. In a sense, the Japanese would seem to have suddenly found out the existence of racial others. The rising awareness of cultural varieties as well as race conflicts in the world caused the Japanese *anime* to explore the possibility of multiculturalism in the American classic novel and the Japanese audience to embrace such representation of racial others.

The representation of others in Japan

The racial implications of the 1987 *anime* version of *Little Women* cannot be fully understood without taking the ideology of multiculturalism into account. The *anime* had an educational function to teach multiculturalism to the young audience. The producers, for instance, created fictitious scenes and characters to add to *Little Women*. With the Civil War era as its historical background, the *anime* emphasized the problems of slavery during the time of the Civil War, and to facilitate understanding by a younger audience, it modified the story's contents, adding the Fight of Gettysburg, a speech scene of President Lincoln, as well as an episode of runaway slaves. The original coming-of-age story of four girls was thus transformed into a political story to address the race problem. Tellingly, in the *anime*, the mother of the girls says: "Blacks ought to be free people as whites." This line and other related topics in the *anime* were meant to function as educational and moral subjects. A black Hannah in the March family represents the possibility of coexistence with racial others.

Yet, what I would like to call attention to is that her characterization as a black emphasizes rather than erases the differences between us and others considering that she looks like and behaves like a typical "good", "Mammy-like" African-American servant such as you might see in classic American movies and cartoons, like *Gone with the Wind* and *Tom and Jerry* to mention a few. She is rotund, homely, wears a turban on her head, and is an active and obedient servant. She somewhat resembles a stereotype black Mammy whom southern white slave owners would consider as harmless and thus ideal. While proclaiming itself as educational, the Japanese *anime* would seem to have inherited this racialized image of Hannah uncritically from earlier Hollywood films. Yet, this does not mean that Japanese society as a whole was insensitive to the problem of racial stereotype and racism. In 1988, sales of one of the most popular picture books in Japan, *The Story of Little Black Sambo*, were protested by some who considered the book racist and it was virtually banned. In addition, a famous soft-drink company discontinued use of one of its trademarks, a hat-wearing black character, because the character was judged racist by society. It is interesting why, in such a milieu, black Hannah was not regarded similarly as a racial stereotype, but this is a question that requires more investigation.

Conclusion

As I have discussed, in the 1980s when the Japanese animation *Little Women* was broadcast, the racial awareness of Japanese society underwent a significant change which influenced the ways in which the *anime* was produced and consumed. The *anime Little Women*, with Hannah African-Americanized, signifies that the racial others became perceptively visible in Japan's political consciousness in its relation to the United States. The racial transformation of Hannah in the end tells us much about the transformation of Japan's racial consciousness and its reaction to multiculturalism.

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Changing Perspectives as observed in the Japanese Academic Publications Market

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Abstract

I have worked as a publisher of academic publications in Japan for about 20 years and I have observed an abrupt downturn in sales of such publications over these 20 years. I think rapid and drastic change is occurring in the academic information environment in Japanese society. The present study examines this change as a problem of the system of knowledge sharing in society. One of the features of academic information is the level of "difficulty" which acts as a barrier against the sharing system. I suggest an examination of "difficulty" will provide a new viewpoint for informatics, giving a "scale of difficulty of information" and that this scale will work well for the knowledge-sharing system. In this paper, I will focuse on the changes in the Japanese academic publications market and will attempt to explain how this drastic change was caused by a shift in the academic information media.

Introduction

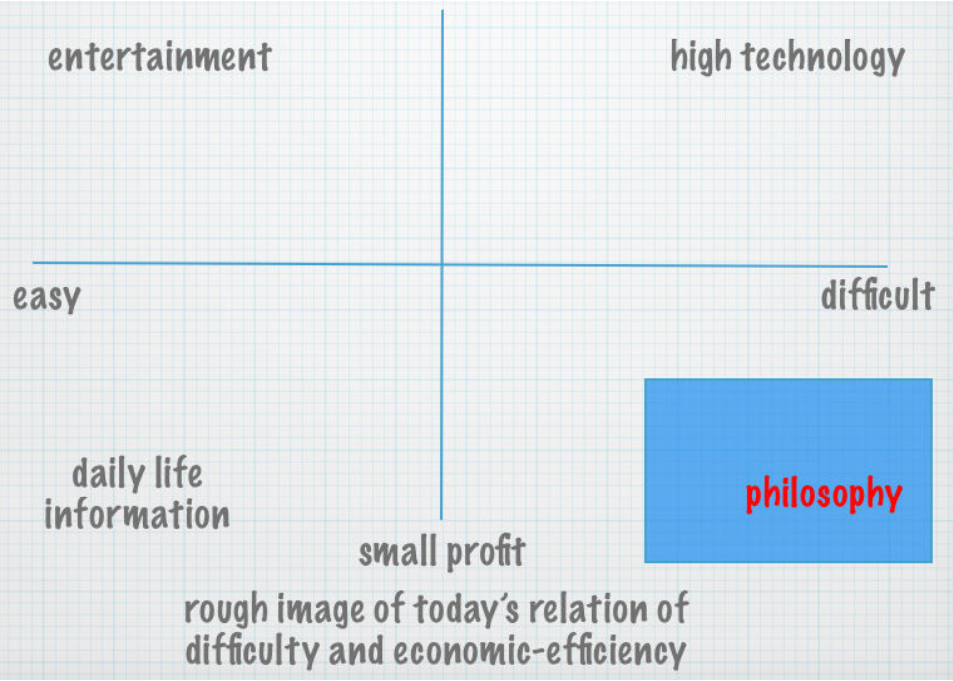
In his major work, Hasegawa (2003) researched the history of academic publications and analyzed the Japanese academic publications circle. According to his research, a transition from paper media to digital media damaged the academic publications market. Though I agree with this point, I believe it could rather be considered a problem of the knowledge-sharing system in society. Hasegawa's argument did refer to this possibility, but I believe it was not developed sufficiently. Academic publications must be situated in relation not only to the university but also to society. My argument is based on Hasegawa (2003), but I will attempt to expand and re-consider publications as a social knowledge-sharing system.

1. Supply and Demand

Firstly, I would like to examine the problem of supply and demand. It is evident that some kinds of difficult information are limited to a few interested persons only and hence the market for such information is small.

Below is a rough outline of the relation of difficult information to the market. The horizontal line represents difficulty, from easiest to most difficult. The vertical line represents economic efficiency, from smallest to largest. The four squares represent four kinds of information. Today, I would like to focus on this area and the many problems caused by the overly powerful influence of the vertical line. To cite an example: 岩波講座哲学 (*Iwanami Koza Tetsugaku*) - Series of Lecture Books on philosophy, published by Iwanami Syoten in the 1960s. Surprisingly, this series of books established a very large sales record in the sixties (ten million copies). Over the seventies and the eighties it maintained good sales (twenty thousand), but after the nineties its sales fell off (down to five thousand), (Hasegawa 2003, p. 263). This is only one example, but I believe the same situation occurred in many other publishing companies.

Table 1. Relation of difficulty and economic value



2. Protection System

Secondly, I will examine the systems which protect such difficult information in the Japanese book market:

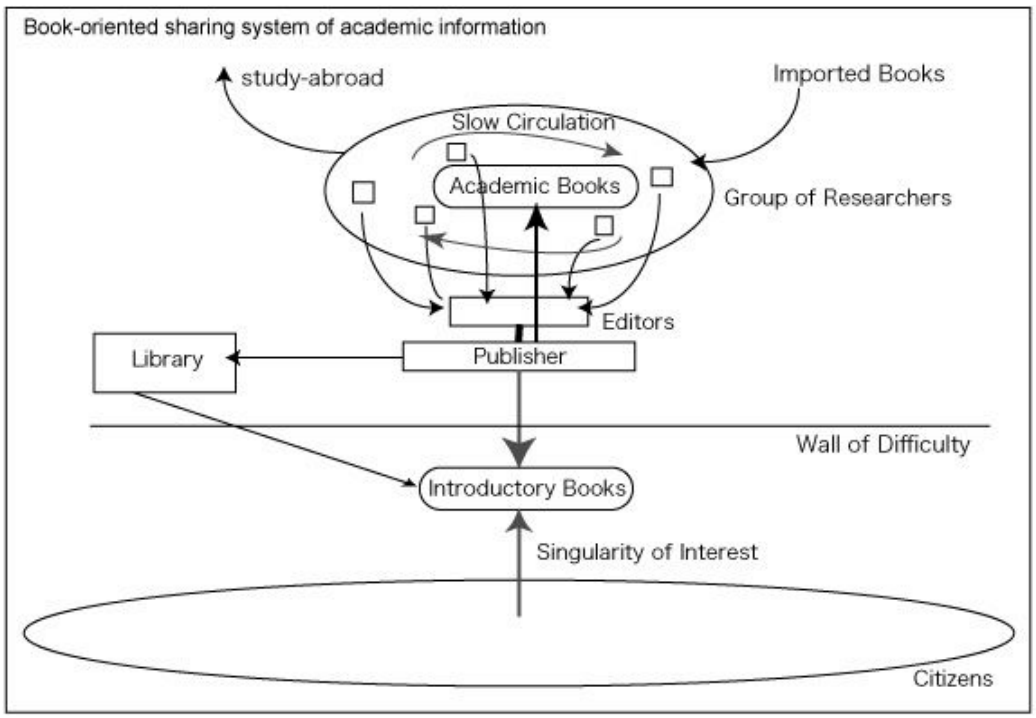
> *再販売価格維持制度(Saihanbai Kakaku Iji Seido)－再販制 (Saihansei)*. This system ensures the book price is kept the same everywhere in Japan. The aim of this system is primarily to protect national culture and is an indication that society evaluates books as cultural property.
>
> *在庫調整勘定(Zaiko Chosei Kanjo)*. This system is a form of tax break. A publisher may write off bad stock as a loss. It also protects cultural property.

Both these systems are supported by Japanese book distributors -*取次 (Toritsugi*. The Japanese book market has two main book distributors, *日販(Nippan)* and *東販(Tohan)*. It is a typical oligopoly market. The distributors have their own delivery and settlement systems. This means that through these systems and structure, Japanese publishers can publish books with little risk. This system worked well until the 1970s and difficult or academic publications were provided to society accurately in their unedited form. But in the mid-1980s, the publishing business model underwent change, making a transition from long-term benefit to short-term benefit. From the viewpoint of short-term benefit, the protection system could be abused, by over-issuing new titles for example. Also, from the late 1990s, with the spread of the internet throughout society, the quantity of information rose dramatically. So, these systems became nonfunctional and the book value changed from being cultural property to consumer good.

3. Conclusion - the shift of the media and circumstances surrounding academic information

Perhaps, this change is not only a problem of the book market but also of the social knowledge-sharing system. I have given a rough outline for examining this shift in the media and the circumstances surrounding academic information. Table 2 below represents the book-oriented system and table 3 below represents the internet-oriented system.

Table 2. Book-oriented system



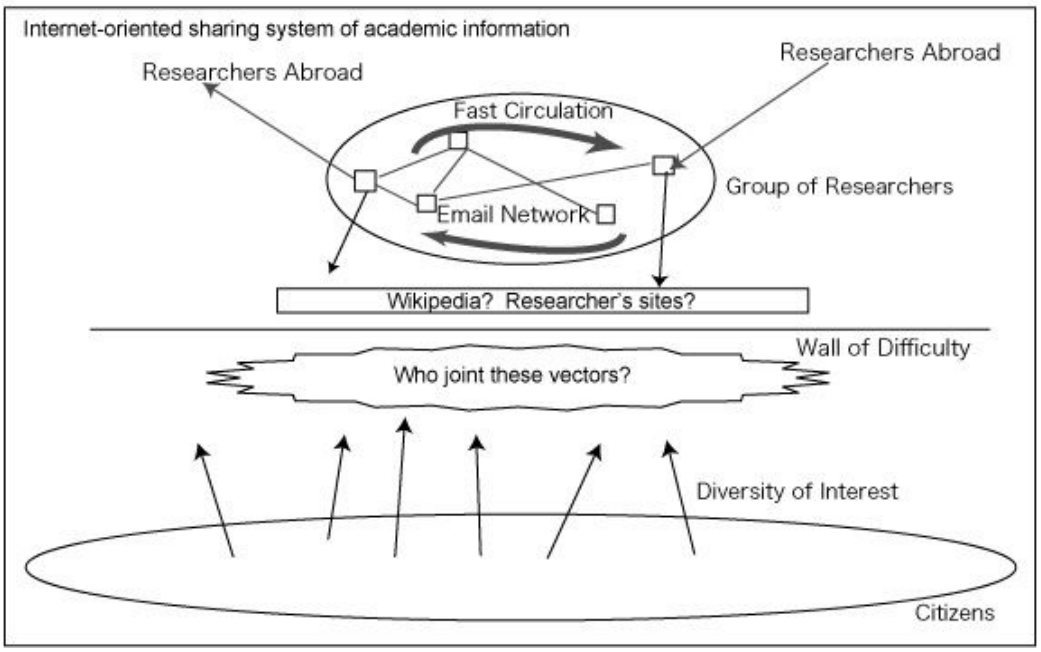


Table 3. Internet-oriented system

The book-oriented system has already ceased to function while the internet-oriented system is still not perfect. For the internet-oriented system, the biggest problem is the lack of relation between academic information and citizens. In considering this relationship, an understanding of "difficulty" would be an important step and would merit further research.

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Some Insights on "Fieldwork as Exploration" in Sri Lanka

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In the present study I will present some insights into a part of my Sri Lankan experience as an anthropologist undertaking ethnographic fieldwork. Basic questions concerning the status of fieldwork in our discipline arose due to the fast-changing situation of the globe, which is usually understood under the notion of "the world in motion". The rapidity of the "information society" is somehow frightening when we try to apprehend the actual moment in which we live. There is quite a lot of pessimism among the world's intellectuals about it. Notions such as "The End of History" (Francis Fukuyama), "The Clash of Civilizations" (Samuel Huntington), "The Tyranny of the Moment", (Thomas Hylland Eriksen), "Twighlight of Democracy" (Noam Chomsky), "The Empire" (Antonio Negri), etc. are not really lines of thought that lead towards a pleasant, prosperous and democratic global society. Although, it is true, some are nothing more than dangerous ideas which do not necessarily correspond to the world situation today and which will probably never happen in the future.

On the other hand, ethnographic fieldwork is a fundamental element of anthropological research. Basically, fieldwork involves "collecting data" through direct, often face-to-face, encounters, through collaboration, extensive debate and coming to an understanding of and with the people we term informants. It involves observing and participating in these people's lives, their events, questioning their emotions, passions and thoughts. How can we and to what extent did we adapt to this globalizing situation?

Traditionally, ethnographic fieldwork meant being on a chosen anthropological location (Gupta and Ferguson 1997) for an extended period of time, which, according to the "father" of fieldwork technique Bronislav Malinowski, lasted for at least a year (see

Stocking 1983; Kuper 1998). It was crucial to "be there"[1] and to do "participant observation". Because these conventions and practices of fieldwork constituted the basis of the discipline of anthropology as such (see Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 28), it comes as no surprise to find that fieldwork represents a kind of anthropological fetish, which for newcomers to anthropology often means the rite of passage for informally becoming a full member of the anthropological community (Watson 1999a: 2, 19).

But due to changing world circumstances over the last decades, it is difficult to talk about the unique act of "fieldwork as exploration" in terms of an adequate method of contemporary ethnography. In today's ethically unacceptable notion of the orientalist, colonial and/or imperial the West and the rest (see Said 1995), we cannot lodge in tents on the margins of "our civilization" anymore, if we ever could do so that is. Our fieldwork today also means "being" on the World Wide Web, following media contents, reading and analyzing literary writings, attending art exhibitions, writing e-mails and talking to our informants on the telephone (Sluka and Robben 2007: 25). Yet, it is also hard to talk about anthropology as a distinctive discipline if there is no ethnographic fieldwork involved.[2]

The conventions for field accounts have also changed: a different selection of subjects (especially more emphasis given to gender relations), a different positioning of the anthropologist in the text (there is often self-questioning and a fostered self-consciousness) and a strong relevance to the geopolitical context (changing global circumstances) (Watson 1999a: 12-3).

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[1] «Being there » is a formulation by Clifford Geertz. This was the title of the first chapter of his book *Works and Lives* (1988). The last chapter, after pointing out "ethnographocentricity or ethnographic narcissism" (Muršič 2006: 49), was entitled «Being Here». We can otherwise find the "being there" metaphor in many critical texts about ethnographic fieldwork, especially when anthropologists question the first hand or direct stories of fieldwork experience (cf. Bradburd 1998; Watson 1999; Hannerz 2003; Sluka and Robben 2007: 24–6).

[2] Still, ethnographic fieldwork is now commonly used, apart from in anthropology and sociology (see e.g. Prus 1996), in many other disciplines, as for example in folklore, economy, psychology, geography, history, social work, nursing and development studies (Sluka and Robben 2007: 3). But in no other discipline, the fieldwork is such a key element of identification as it is in anthropology. It is therefore not surprising, that the literature in recent years on anthropological fieldwork (and fieldwork methods) has become very large, and is even still increasing (Sluka and Robben 2007: 3).

In the later history of the eighties and the nineties there was also a lot of concern about the overly autobiographical style of anthropological accounts (American postmodern turn after Clifford and Marcus 1986; cf. Okely and Callaway 1992 for the European counterpart). When the spread of such accounts was at its peak, the reaction sometimes termed it the navel gazing of postmodern anthropologists (Sluka and Robben 2007: 2; after James, Hockey in Dawson 1997: 1). The relevance of the question of how we gather data from which we gain an understanding, was further reduced with constructivist and interactionist paradigms based on exploring the imagination of collectivities, on discursivity, dynamic changes of meaning, ideological and symbolical construction of communities etc. This meant that, in so far as fieldwork was concerned, the way of thinking was more important than the way of life. The narrative aspect was no longer of prime importance. Today more emphasis is placed on the experiential aspect so, together with an understanding of constructs, we are just beginning to understand how they are actualized in everyday practice.

When we still do examine the "being there" part of ethnography, it is usually carried out within the frame of so-called reflexive ethnography (see Sluka and Robben 2007: 443–91) where we should not forget the importance of the language of the researched environment: on the one hand language can be a treasure of new (anthropological) concepts and on the other, it can teach us a literary way of comprehending the new reality.

Ideally, therefore, contemporary fieldwork is carried out as follows: preparation, where we gather information about concepts, understanding and meaning of the chosen location; going **"**to the field" for a certain period; coming back home, where we construct an ethnographic account which is often later on reviewed in the light of further examination and also on going back to our location. Usually, the picture we get from our first fieldwork study drastically changes following the second, third etc. fieldwork studies. In this dynamic we are also aware of the danger of going native (see Sluka and Robben 2007: 13–6), or of "knowing too much" (Watson 1999a: 7).

Today's conception of fieldwork is therefore defined through its construction or theoretical and empirical preparation, which relativizes it as a separate category of the ethnographic process (see Amit 2000). For elaboration of the process of understanding, which takes place "in the field", we have to be aware of the before- and after-field contexts.

The only serious and acute limitations concerning the future of fieldwork lie in ethical issues. We are aware of the inequalities that all too often shaped our positions in anthropological texts and in the field itself, even in the sixties (i.e. colonial hangover, Watson 1999a: 14) and seventies (the question of subject in general, Watson 1999a: 18). Now ethical concerns must be part of any ethnographical encounter, be it in an examination of the history of ethnography (postcolonial writings), or in contemporary fieldwork (see Castañeda 2006).

Apart from the upper relativization of fieldwork as a separate category (I am calling this "fieldwork as exploration"), I would like to point to some epistemological questions that are part of learning "in the field" itself. When I first went to Sri Lanka in 2003, it was also the first time for me to leave Europe. I was prepared for culture shock symptoms (see Barlas and Wanasundera 1992; Driessen 1998: 46; Sluka and Robben 2007: 16–7), but on the spot I lost awareness of the duration of culture shock itself. It took a long time: encounters with Sri Lankans in the public space were frustrating and sometimes painful, so I started to talk about it with other travelers and foreigners. The result was a certain consolidation of "us" against "them", which was rooted in basic inequality between the tourists and the locals. With other foreigners, I sometimes shared emotions of fear, non-satisfaction, carefulness, distrust, and sometimes anger towards the locals.

The main point of the influence on my research of these first field experiences is that I changed my research interest through them. I had prepared to investigate religious practices in Sri Lanka, but there, on the spot, I soon faced the limitations of language, gender, sacred place and time. I therefore changed my interest towards postcolonial questions, east-west interaction on the level of ideas, representations and interactive spaces of international tourism on the face-to-face level.

Ethnographic fieldwork is therefore unpredictable. It forces us to open up towards "the Others" and their rationalities and worlds. From our basic moral position we usually try to recognize the value of the "Other" first (Carrithers 2005: 437) and our research interests are only of second importance here.

The following year (2004), I went on a second fieldwork study to Sri Lanka. It was completely different because of former experience from which I had learned something. Later on, I found that that something was a will to create "new" places of encounter on all levels of interaction (with foreigners and locals, with sharing academic ideas, with

learning and practicing basic Buddhist teaching, with following daily politics and debating it, with searching for competent collaborators etc.) built on reciprocity and mutuality. The desired state of my cognitive position was not "culture shock" (or "excitement") anymore, but a feeling of obviousness, which emerges from everyday social engagement in a given research locale. This meant that occasional boredom in the field regularly forced me to search for new implications of the interactive space, which meanwhile became the *fil rouge* of my research as a whole.

With the third fieldwork study of 2006, I started to see the possibilities of building a theory out of fieldwork experience, mainly on the basis of accumulated thoughts expressed in diaries and interviews combined with a selection of newspaper stories and a general study of the theory of ethnographic fieldwork and contemporary anthropology. To some degree also, the concept of serendipity[3] became important, although it was an old one (though it was modern in the anthropological writings of the seventies), because it provided me with the notion of expecting unlimited possibilities (except the limitations of ethics and morals) (cf. Carrithers 2005) in building the aspects of and contextualizing the worlds "in-between" (see Bhabha 1994), towards an inductive understanding of the postcolonial world based on an interactive perspective (see Prus 1996).

It is still possible to see the old concept of "fieldwork as exploration" in the present world situation. Apart from basic tensions in the history of ethnographic fieldwork, such as the tensions between subjective and objective, perception and representation, ethic and emic, interpretation and explanation, micro- and macro- analysis, particular and general, synchronic and diachronic, I would like to add that of ethnographic fieldwork and ethnographic fieldnotes.

We still negotiate cultural identity through different interactions on different levels and through different voices. One of these is the anthropological voice, which, with its descriptions, sometimes creates cultural differences and introduces the notion of interculturality. But when we interact with the "Other" as a first-hand experience, it is not always very visible that one "culture" interacts with the other. Only the implications of

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[3] I separate the concept of *serendipity*, or accidental findings (see Greverus 2002: 37-8), from *obviousness* through the direction of recognition. If we understand accidental finding as being in the direction from the researcher towards the social space of the field, we understand obviousness as being from the field towards the researcher. In the epistemological sense, obviousness is therefore a step before accidental finding and is explicitly linked to the existential aspect of fieldwork.

interaction themselves have the potential to become particular subjects of our investigations. And of course, these are ambiguous, uncertain and very often ironical, but also one of the most valuable units of fieldwork because they provide imagination which can overcome the simple-minded notion of interculturality. Here, we can find the connection between the direct and scattered realities of "the field" and interaction performing its function of understanding different subjects, not only for us, the researchers, but also for our readers and listeners.

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Salt Production and Social Complexity in the Jomon Period

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INTRODUCTION

In studies of Japanese prehistory, social complexity is becoming an important topic (Kawashima 2008). Most studies which focus on the existence of hereditary hierarchy during the Jomon period analyze graves of children (Nakamura 1999, Takahashi 2001b, Yamada 2003). The analysis of the burial system is indeed efficient in the study of more complex societies. However, the social complexity of hunter-gatherers has many aspects to be studied. Clear archaeological evidence of social ranking can be observed at a more complex stage, as in a fully developed chiefdom. Since there is little possibility of the existence of fully developed chiefdom in the Jomon period and since this paper aims to investigate the less complex type of society, it is not efficient to analyze the burial system. I will analyze the craft specialization in the Jomon period, which is considered as one of the most important indicators of complex hunter-gatherer societies (Costin 1991, 2001, Arnold 1992, 1996). As such an example, I will propose a study of the salt production which occurred in the latest part of the Jomon, the Angyo period (approximately 1,500-900 BC). In order to produce salt, coarse pottery was used for boiling down sea water. The amount of salt producing pottery found at coastal sites implies that salt production was larger than salt consumption in a particular settlement. Moreover, hearths for salt production were also uncovered, so it should be considered that salt production may have represented collective and intensive labor at those particular sites.

Although the kinds of produced craft were different, the complexity of the craft producing processes could be compared and the social complexity of the societies which carried out craft production could be assessed. This paper attempts to interpret the archaeological remains of salt production in the Jomon period and to examine the degree of social complexity using the analysis of craft specialization as proposed by Costin, together with a comparison of the extensively investigated case of the Chumash tribes in North America.

METHOD

Costin (1991:43) notes that craft specialization can achieve different levels; these can be described by four parameters of specialization, such as context, concentration, scale, and intensity. She expands this approach to a set of six components that constitute a "production system", which are artisans, means of production organization and social relationship of production, objects, relationship of distribution, and consumers (Costin 2001:277). Although these six components cover the whole production system, they would make the interpretation of archaeological remains ambiguous. Analyzing craft specialization archaeologically, there are four indicators of the result of specialization, which are standardization, efficiency, skill, and regional variation (Costin 1991:44). In the following discussion, I will try to evaluate the degree of specialization of salt production in the Jomon period, using these four indicators. Due to the lack of ethnographical data and scarce archaeological remains, it is difficult to classify salt production in the Jomon period and estimate the complexity of the Jomon society by this method alone. Therefore, I will compare the process of salt production in Jomon with the process of bead production by the Chumash, which is better understood and where ethnographical and archeological data exist. Using this comparison, I will evaluate the level of specialization of salt production in the Jomon society and its influence on its sociopolitical advance. Although the products of both societies are different, it is possible to compare the process and the organization of production. The subsistence and natural environment are similar to each other, marine resources, gathering acorns, distribution in almost the same latitude, and so on. Such conditions would not interfere with the comparison of the process of craft production. It will be more objective than an analysis of only craft production in the Jomon period. The Chumash case is supposed to be the best case which developed social complexity resulting from craft specialization. While subsistence developed social complexity in Northwest coast societies, in California, craft production played a key role in the development of social complexity (Coupland 2004). Therefore, Chumash is the best case for comparison of social complexity achieved by craft specialization.

SALT PRODUCTION IN THE JOMON PERIOD

Salt production using pottery in the Jomon period was found in north-east Japan, mainly along the Pacific Ocean (Kondo 1962, Kitabayashi 1994, Kimishima 1999) (Figure 1).

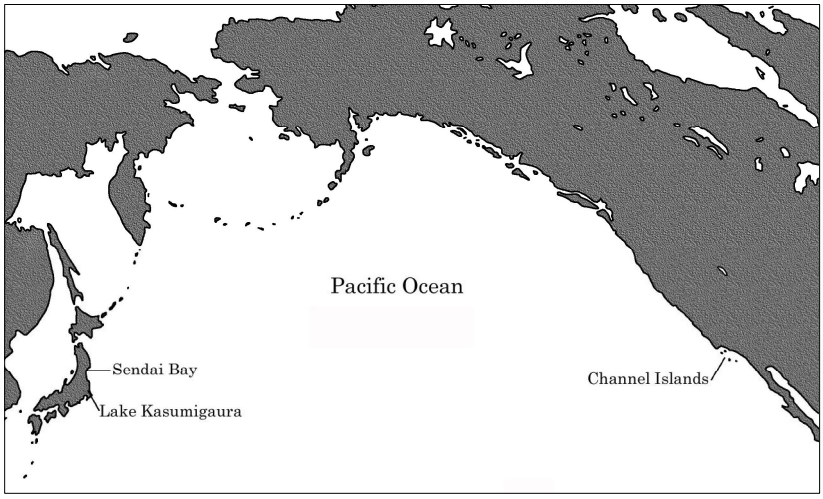

Figure 1: Location of Japan and Channel Islands.

As the places where salt production occurred were geographically separate, relations between different regions have not yet been found. The reason why salt was needed is unclear, although some opinions such as physiological needs (Kondo 1962:18, Terakado and Shibasaki 1969:11) and preservation of food (Kondo 1962:18, Goto 1988:25, Suzuki 1992:50) have been presented in the literature. It is suggested that salt production was related to the development of fishing (Tsunematsu 1997). Tsunematsu points out the abundance of fishing tools in the previous period of salt production and relates this to the emergence of salt producing around Lake Kasumigaura area where it used to be a bay. In the Angyo period, it is said that the water of Kasumigaura became less salty due to the decreasing sea level, and that this change affected the variety of fish and shellfish and the strategies for fishing. It is reasonable that the background of salt production is related to the technique for preservation of fish, because most salt producing sites were found along the coast. However, around Lake Kasumigaura salt-producing pottery was uncovered from more than 100 sites which were away from the coast. The salt-producing pottery uncovered from inland sites also represents specific features, as described below. The question of how the pottery was used needs more discussion.

Salt in the Jomon period is thought to have been made from sea water because of the absence of rock salt in Japan. There is no evidence of salt production with pottery from saline water in the inland areas. It might have been possible to produce salt without the use of pottery (Kano 2001), which was practiced in New Guinea, but in this paper I will analyze salt production using pottery. The pottery for salt making is thought to have been specialized because of the accumulation of pottery pieces in some specific sites, where the rate of daily tools is low

compared to salt-making pottery. The pottery has some characteristic features, such as reddish color, scale, exfoliation, which could come from salt making use. No decoration is added to this kind of pottery and it is usually very thin, approximately 5mm. The average size is 20-25cm diameter and 25cm high. The exterior surface is treated roughly in contrast to the inside. The common feature of thin walls is thought to be required because of the demand for a vast amount of pottery. It is assumed that the pottery was broken faster if used for boiling sea water (Kondo 1962). Therefore, the large quantity of pottery must have been related to the amount of salt produced. There is a possibility that fast consumption of pottery caused economization of the use of clay and simplification of surface treatment.

There is some diversity in the shape of the rim, the bottom and in the finishing of the outside wall of the pottery. For example, in Sendai Bay area the outside of the pottery is not finished, while in Lake Kasumigaura area the rim of the pottery is cut with a sharp-edged tool. These features should be considered as local standardization and the result of a pursuit of simplicity. In the Hirohata site, the fraction of pottery with a cut in the rim increased from the end of Late Jomon (Figure 2). This suggests that the treatment of the rim emerged in Final Jomon. Data from the Hodo site which mainly belonged to Final Jomon also support this idea, since 75.3% of salt-making pottery rims from this site were cut (Tozawa and Handa 1966). The outside wall of the pottery from Lake Kasumigaura area was scraped, and the inside was stroked carefully to avoid leaking. On the contrary, in Sendai Bay area, the exterior surface was not treated while the inside was polished carefully as in Kasumigaura area. A pointed-shape bottom was also one of the features of the pottery in Sendai Bay area. There is flat-bottomed salt-making pottery in this area, so the diversity in the shape of bottom may represent a different period.

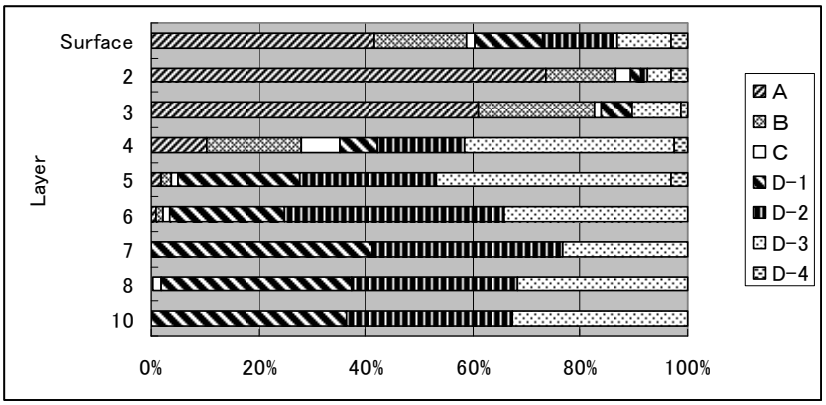

Figure 2: The increase of cut rim (A) after layer 4 at the Hirohata site.

In some sites, hearths with large quantities of pottery pieces have been uncovered. The hearths found from the Hodo site were constructed on sandy soil (Figure 3), where a layer partly hardened by fire was observed over six by four meters (Tozawa and Handa 1966).

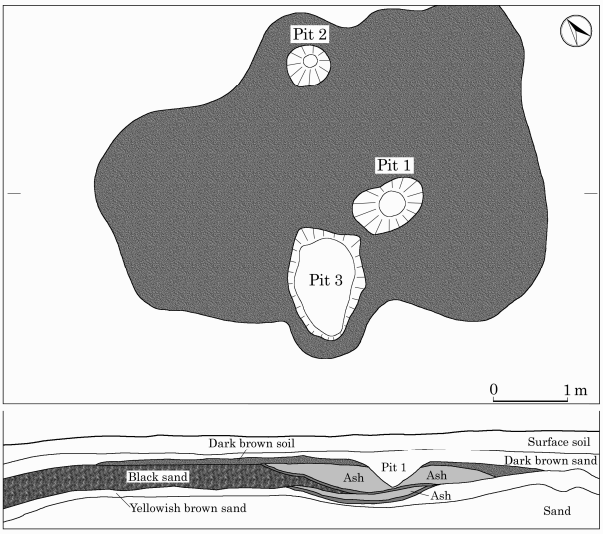

Figure 3: Salt-producing hearths in the Hodo site
(after Tozawa and Handa 1966)

Within the limit of this layer, there are three pits in which salt-making pottery, shells, and gravel were accumulated on the bottoms. Layers of ash were also recognized around pits. Since there were burned pottery pieces and the accumulation of ash and charcoal in hearths, it is believed that the hearths were built specifically to repeatedly boil down the sea water, which would provide a higher salt production rate. I will compare the structures from Lake Kasumigaura area with those from Sendai Bay area.

Different geographical conditions influenced the construction of the structures for salt production in each area. For example, in Lake Kasumigaura area, pits were uncovered on sandy soil accompanied with a layer of ash and salt-producing pottery. The bottom of the structures was burnt and solid. In Sendai Bay area, such structures were also made on sandy soil. This kind of hearth was assumed to have been used for boiling sea water repeatedly. Except for hearths, uncovered pits which were dug into the soft rock on the shore in the Nigade site are thought to have been used for solar evaporation because of the lack of ash and charcoal. However, since this is the only example of water pool for solar evaporation, we can assume that most archaeologically recognizable structures for salt production in the Jomon period are

hearths. The existence of special structures shows that salt making must have been carried out systematically. Regular and repeated activity could have enabled the construction. Therefore, the construction of the structures may be considered a result of repeated salt production activity and the need for higher efficiency than would have been achieved without hearths and which may have required collective labor.

It was generally thought that salt production in the Jomon period was a seasonal activity as only the hot summer weather was suitable for water evaporation. The pottery may have been made at the same time. There were some types of imprints on the outside of the bottom, such as fabric, sticks, leaves, and so on. The imprints of full-grown broadleaf tree leaves on the bottom of pottery imply that pottery was made during the summer (Koikawa and Kato 1988:31). Approximately 90% of the imprints were considered to be oak leaves. As it is not suitable to make pottery during the Japanese rainy season, it is assumed that salt-producing pottery was made after the rainy season. Salt production would have been carried out from the latter half of July to the first half of September.

The geographical conditions of the salt producing settlements should also be considered. In Sendai Bay area some sites were located on small islands which are not large enough for permanent villages. These sites were assumed to have been used seasonally. Moreover, some sites presented an unusual assemblage of remains compared to sites which did not produce salt. In the Hodo site, salt producing pottery occupied more than 70% of all excavated pottery, counted by pieces of pottery rim (Tozawa and Handa 1966). The presence of few tools for daily use in this site must indicate the limited use of the site. Additionally, as for most salt-producing settlements, this settlement was located on the sandy beach, while settlements throughout the Jomon period were mainly located on tableland around Lake Kasumigaura area. The fact that the location of salt-producing sites differs from other sites probably represents the seasonal and specific use of the sites. This impermanence of the sites supports the idea that salt production in the Jomon period was a seasonal activity.

BEAD PRODUCTION OF THE CHUMASH: AN EXAMPLE OF CRAFT PRODUCTION OF HUNTER-GATHERERS

As an example of craft specialization, I will use the Chumash ethnic groups in coastal California, North America (Figure 1). They were spread over the mainland and the Channel Islands. The existence of social rank, exchange, and warfare in their society was reported in their ethnography. It is remarkable that the Chumash in the Channel Islands produced

shell-beads for exchange with the mainland Chumash. It is suggested that islanders obtained prestige goods and foods which were not produced in the Channel Islands from trade with the mainlanders (Arnold and Graesch 1994).

The research for Chumash bead manufacture was carried out in the Channel Islands (Arnold 2001). On Santa Cruz Island of the Channel Islands, the SCRI-191 site was occupied from the Middle to Late period continuously, which is rare in this region. The SCRI-191 site provides archaeological information on the change of bead manufacture throughout some periods. The data from SCRI-191 show intensification of bead making after the Transitional period (AD 1,150-1,300).

The sample from SCRI-191, Unit 35S, 3W on Santa Cruz Island shows that in the Transitional Period the parts of shells for beads changed from the wall to the callus of *Olivella biplicata* which was mainly used for beads (Pletka 2004) (Figure 4). The amount of *Olivella biplicata* in this site also increased during the Transitional Period while the amount of other shells did not change. This means that *Olivella biplicata* could have been collected selectively. Few beads were made from Tivela, which did not increase and did not disappear in this sample from the Middle to Late Period. It is assumed that Olivella beads were produced at SCRI-191 mainly for exchange.

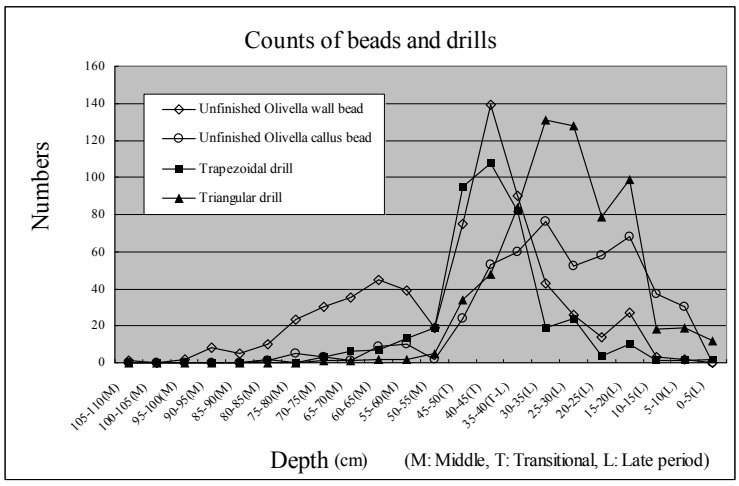

Figure 4: Change of shell parts and drills used for beads (after Pletka 2004:77).

There was also a change in drill shape, which corresponded to the change of shell parts (Figure 4). There are two kinds of microlithic drills, which have trapezoidal cross sections and triangular cross sections. During the Transitional period, the rate of trapezoidal drills was

higher than that of triangular drills. On the other hand, triangular drills increased during the Transitional period, and they were mainly used in the Late period (Arnold and Graesch 2001, Pletka 2004:table 6.1.). These changes imply that the standardization of beads and their manufacturing process occurred during the Transitional Period in the Channel Islands, while the number of beads simultaneously increased. It was suggested that the maker of the drills for perforating the beads was different from the bead maker himself (Pletka 2004:80). Moreover, the distribution of the drill-making settlements was different from that of the bead-manufacturing settlements.

The ratio of finished beads clarifies the change in exchange activity between the islands and the continent (Pletka 2004:79, fig.6.3.). It seems that the production process changed and the waste increased. However, it is assumed that the increase of exchanging beads between continental and island Chumash resulted in the decrease of finished beads in the islands (Pletka 2004:79). The level of the exchange as described in the ethnographical data must have been established in this period, and the emergence of ranked society is thought to have been related to bead production and exchange (Arnold and Munns 1994). It is suggested that the beads were produced throughout the year in particular settlements, and that such settlements were occupied for several hundred years (Arnold 1992). However, continental Chumash were reported to have had seasonal mobility. Therefore, in order to certify that bead-producing sites were occupied throughout the year, the mobility of island Chumash should be investigated.

DISCUSSION

The common character of both societies, Jomon and Chumash, is large-scale craft production, although the products are different. As it is thought that collective and organized labor would be needed for this kind of production, not only the amount but also the process of the production should be examined. In the salt production case of the Jomon, special pottery and hearths were discovered, but fewer kinds of remains were found than in the case of the Chumash. I will discuss the comparison between the Jomon and Chumash, following the indicators suggested by Costin.

STANDARDIZATION

Salt-making pottery was clearly made exclusively for salt production by the process of boiling down sea water. There are some characteristic features of salt-producing pottery: no decoration, thin wall, rough exterior surface treatment, pointed bottom, and so on. The ratio of sand

mingled with clay may be different from normal pottery. However, the technique of salt production pottery-making is fundamentally the same as for other pottery. In salt production in the Jomon period, pottery is the only tool necessary for the process of salt production, while Chumash bead production needs grindstones and drills. Moreover, in correlation to the change of pottery, standardization of the entire salt production process may have also occurred. It is thought that the change in shape of the pottery was influenced by the process of salt production as a whole. In Chumash bead-making, standardization of the drills as tools is correlated to the amount and the material of the manufactured beads. It is possible that the amount of produced salt in the Jomon period is correlated to the standardization of the pottery.

EFFICIENCY

It is the need for higher efficiency that dictated the construction of special hearths which are thought to have been used specifically for boiling sea water and the design of special pottery to increase the concentration of salt by boiling away the water. It is very likely that such structures were constructed for repeated use. The discovered hearths and pots in the salt production sites should be regarded as a pursuit for higher efficiency of salt production as well as proof of the existence of collective and organized labor.

SKILL

Salt production in the Jomon period needs not only knowledge of the salt production process but also pottery-making skills. Compared to Chumash bead making skills, however, pottery making is not as complicated as making drills. There are some mines of chert on Santa Cruz Island, where beads were produced. Even so, acquisition of material and making drills needs specific techniques. Pottery was also made for other purposes in the Jomon period. Salt-making pottery was modified to suit salt production but the technique for it basically remained the same as for other pottery. It is difficult to suppose that there were specialists only for salt-making pottery in the Jomon period. As mentioned above, it is assumed that most salt-producing sites were occupied seasonally. It is possible that salt-producing pottery was made in the settlements and transported to the salt producing sites, because some salt-producing sites were distributed on isolated small islands where there was little clay for pottery and trees for fuel. The group producing salt might also have made salt-producing pottery, because salt-making pottery was required seasonally and did not need specialists in order to produce it.

REGIONAL VARIATION

Regional variation was seen in the shape and finishing of the pottery. Salt production was carried out broadly, but the core places of the production were separated. Therefore, geographical condition may have affected the process of salt production as seen in the difference of salt-producing structures. In the Jomon period, pools dug on tuff were uncovered from the Nigade site. Tuff was distributed in Sendai Bay area, but in Lake Kasumigaura area there is no tuff or rocky shore. Although the shape of salt-producing pottery was almost the same, the concentrating process before boiling sea water could have been different.

In the case of the Jomon, archeological research does not provide enough archaeological evidence to be able to assume non-kin labor in the salt production process. The Chumash example has some evidence of labor division. In such a society, the drill makers and bead makers could not have had any influence on each other. The society would have needed administrators (traders) to produce the appropriate amount of beads, taking into consideration the amount of exchange with the mainlanders. Only the administrators had the critical information about the demand for bead exchange that was needed to set the production scale. Administrators would also need information of exchange routes and connections. Non-kin labor could be an indicator of emerging elites, because elites could control other emerging groups through the administration of the whole production process (Coupland 2004). Labor division must have been closely related to emerging complexity, especially in craft production.

Costin (1991) proposes an eight-part typology for the organization of specialist production. In this typology, there is no parameter of labor division, but parameters such as context, concentration, scale and intensity should reflect the presence of labor division because labor division is observed in complex societies. Therefore, it can not be used directly, but it is useful for the discussion of this paper. The Chumash case in the historic period could be applied to *dispersed corvé*e, or *individual retainer*. However, neither type is suitable for the Chumash case completely. *Dispersed corvée* is part-time labor, and *individual retainer* is proposed to be within an administered setting (Costin 1991:8), while Chumash bead production is assumed to have been a full-time activity in a household setting. Workshops for bead making were archaeologically recognized as house pits which were not interpreted as administered settings. On the contrary, the Jomon case could be applied to *community specialization* or *nucleated workshops*. In Jomon salt production, it is difficult to assess whether the labor is based on kin group or on non-kin group. *Community specialization* contains kin-based labor, but *nucleated*

workshops is full-time labor. Leaders would have existed where salt production was carried out because of the presence of specific sites and structures for salt production. Handed down from ancestors, salt production could have continued for several hundred years.

It seems that, by using Costin's parameters, both societies would belong to different types. The bead production of the Chumash represents a more complicated process and continuity throughout the year. These differences could reflect the differences of social complexity between the Jomon and the Chumash societies.

There are eight types proposed by Costin, but there might be more diversity in craft production. Indeed, it is difficult to apply the Jomon and Chumash cases to Costin's eight types. Each parameter, such as context, concentration, scale, and intensity, would be obscure when estimated by archaeologists. However, these parameters are useful for comparison of craft production because they are thought to be universal and a common feature in craft production.

CONCLUSION

This paper focuses on the degree of craft specialization to evaluate the complexity of the Jomon society in Japan through a comparison of the Chumash society of the west coast of North America. Generally, it is thought that the Chumash society was a simple chiefdom. The Jomon society has not been regarded as a chiefdom society but some recent studies suggest that in the Jomon period ranked society did occur (Watanabe 1990, Nakamura 1999).

The complexity of any society is thought to be correlated to the specialization of its crafts (Arnold 1992). As a result of the complexity of the production process and the trade with beads, the Chumash may have developed a kind of distinct labor division and the bead making may have been decisive for the emergence of elites which led to a chiefdom society. On the other hand, the archeological studies of the Jomon salt production do not provide enough evidence for distinct labor division and non-kin labor, therefore I assert that the craft of salt production in the Jomon period could not have initiated the emergence of elites in the Jomon society. Salt production alone can not support the idea of a ranked society in the Jomon period; however, nor does it exclude it. Further research on its various activities is needed to fully evaluate the complexity of the Jomon society.

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Regulating Religion in China: The Case of Islam

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Looking at the example of Islam, this paper examines the legal development and practical implementation of religious policy in the People's Republic of China (PRC) since 1978, with emphasis on the last decade. I will first scrutinize some of the key legal concepts, for example, "normal religious activities". I will then highlight how their loose definitions allow same or similar religious beliefs and activities to be treated differently in practice. I will do so by comparing state attitudes to issues of religious instruction, mosque participation of state employees and students, and religious press in the cases of the Hui and Uyghur ethnic minorities. I argue that despite China's attempts to introduce the rule of law, the distinction between legal and illegal religious activities remains shaped and defined through the actions of the state rather than legal acts.

Chinese religious policies and legislation

In the first decades after the PRC's establishment in 1949, religious and ethnic policies were mostly shaped and formulated through discussion within the Chinese Communist Party and coded in internal party documents and speeches.[1] Furthermore, not only their content but even more so their implementation depended heavily on the ever-changing political climate as exemplified by various political campaigns. Although Article 88 of the First Constitution of New China adopted in 1954 guaranteed the freedom of religious belief[2], other documents only recognized the large religious denominations (basically world religions): Buddhism, Daoism, Islam, Protestantism and Catholicism. Moreover, some practices were explicitly defined as primitive or backward: popular religion, shamanism, totemism and ancestor cults were

[1] A selection of most important party and state documents on religion for the period until the end of 1980s can be found in MacInnis 1989.

[2] Original texts of this Constitution as well as other legal documents referred to in this paper are available at the governmental website *China Legislative Information Network System*: http://www.chinalaw.gov.cn, For English translations of some key legal provisions see U.S. *Congressional – Executive Commission on China*: http://www.cecc.gov/

considered to be superstitions and thus undesirable. In order to manage and control religious activities the Religious Affairs Bureau (now renamed State Administration of Religious Affairs) was established that same year, under which associations of the five major religions were formed in order to oversee their affairs. However, even the recognized religious groups, came under severe attack during the land reform and anti-rightist campaigns of the late 1950s, while during the period of the Cultural Revolution any expression of difference or adherence to 'old practices' was crushed in the name of class struggle and construction of a true socialist/communist society.[3]

The end of the 1970s brought significant changes in the state's political, economic and social life. Policies of reform and opening up found their expression also in the attitude to religion, reasserting the freedom of religious belief, supporting the (re)construction of religious venues and allowing the resumption of religious instruction. Nevertheless, Document 19 (MacInnis 1989: 8–26), an internal party directive from 1978/1982 that set the framework for a new religious policy, clearly expresses the party's main concern in regard to religion: its mobilizing power and the challenge it can represent to the CCP's rule. Thus Article 36 of the *Constitution of the People's Republic of China* that has been in effect since 1982, while guaranteeing the freedom of religious belief (and rather unusually also the freedom not to believe), as well as forbidding discrimination on religious grounds, also includes provisions that limit these rights: "The state protects *normal religious activities*. No one may make use of religion to engage in activities that disrupt public order, impair the health of citizens or interfere with the educational system of the state. Religious bodies and religious affairs are not subject to any foreign domination." (emphasis mine). The *Criminal Law* of 1979/1997 too, contains similar contradictions. On the one hand, it criminalizes the obstruction of freedom of religious belief or infringement upon the customs and habits of an ethnic group by any functionary of the State organ (Article 251), yet, on the other, it also punishes anyone who "*forms or uses superstitious sects or secret societies or weird religious organizations or uses superstition* to undermine the implementation of the laws and administrative rules and regulations of the State" or who does so in order to cheat people, swindle them out of money or property, rape them, or cause death (Article 300, emphasis mine). Since the mid-1990s a number of regulations, rules and measures[4] that regulate registration of religious organizations and religious venues, religious activities of foreigners, employment of religious personnel, etc. have been adopted. The Regulations of Religious Affairs, promulgated in 2004, effective in 2005, are the highest legal

[3] A comprehensive overview of Chinese ethnic and religious policy can be found in Mackerras 1994.

[4] Different legal acts passed by the State Council (i.e. government) or ministries.

acts concerned exclusively with religious activities. In spite of its considerable improvement in clarity of administrative norms for managing religious affairs, the document continues the use of expressions like "normal religious activities", "protection of national unity", "inter-ethnic harmony" and "maintenance of social stability". These formulations point to the lack of clear definition of certain key concepts, thus begging questions such as: Does freedom of religious belief also guarantee the freedom of religious practice? What are normal religious activities? What is the distinction between religion, cult, sect and superstition? What makes some of them weird? What poses a threat to social stability?" A short answer would be: normal is what the state defines as such and has control over. In the absence of an independent judiciary or other body with the authority to make final and binding interpretations, the arbitrary nature of such concepts allows those in power to define what is legal and what is not according to their particular needs or purposes. Legal religious activities are thus primarily those that are not considered illegal, yet this does not guarantee that they might not become such in a different situation. Let us now examine how this is manifested in a concrete case.

Implementation of religious policy and Islamic religious practices: comparing the Hui and the Uyghur[5]

Hui and Uyghur are the two largest of the 10 officially recognized minority nationalities or ethnic groups that traditionally follow Islam. Nevertheless, they have a completely different ethnic, cultural and historical background. The Uyghur number approximately 7.2 million and they live in China's largest, western-most administrative unit – Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR). Uyghur are Turkic speakers and many of them harbor negative feelings toward the Chinese government and its policies. They see themselves as holding no influence at all on the way the XUAR is governed. For these reasons, nationalist feelings remain strong even among those Uyghur who would never participate in the independence movement that some groups strongly advocate. The Hui, on the other hand, doubtlessly perceive themselves as a part of China, their most important cultural and geographical reference point. They number over 9.8 million and are spread over the whole territory of the PRC. They are linguistically and culturally closer to the Han or other ethnic groups they live with.[6] Thus, no matter how strict in their religious practices, they oppose any sort of separatism or Islamic fundamentalism that would lead to the dissolution of the state. Since the late 1980s, when the state began to

[5] This section is mainly based on my fieldwork observations during 14 months of fieldwork in Northwestern China (Gansu, Qinghai and Xinjiang).

[6] The variation in assertion of Hui identity in different parts of China has been described in Gladney 1991.

legitimize its religious control by claiming the connection between religiosity and separatist tendencies, the Uyghur have continuously faced bans and strict control of their religious activities, while the Hui remain freer in expressing their religious beliefs. The most conspicuous areas of different, even contradictory implementation of religious law in cases of Uyghur and Hui – followers of the same religious tradition yet members of two different ethnic groups - are access to religious instruction, religious participation of state employees and students and religious media.

According to law, minors (under 18) are not allowed to follow religious instruction or to enter mosques. In NW China where Hui communities are large and tightly-knit, this rule is usually disregarded with no consequences. Elementary religious courses for children are held in the evenings or during school vacations in mosques and in private homes. Moreover, private Muslim kindergartens where children learn about the tenets of Islam and proper behavior are becoming increasingly popular. In schools that train religious professionals, students are often younger than 18, having finished only the compulsory 9 years of education, often even less. In addition, since the late 1990s the state has allowed the setting up of Sino-Arabic and Quranic secondary schools. In XUAR, on the other hand, the rules are strictly upheld. Privately organized religious instruction is persecuted and training of imams is under the strict control of the government. Some Uyghur and Hui from XUAR send their teenage children to the above mentioned secondary schools in China proper; yet Uyghur students especially are often forced to return when local authorities are pressed by those of a higher level.

Similarly, many Hui *cadres*, teachers and students in Gansu and Qinghai are actively involved in various religious activities, openly professing their faith, even though state employees and students are officially forbidden to partake in religious rituals or express their belief by for example, fasting or wearing the headscarf. In XUAR, however, state employees risk losing their jobs and students are expelled if they participate in public prayer, fast or don a headscarf. Many Uyghur university students who went to universities in China proper often grieved about the fact that they would not be able to act as observant Muslims once they returned to XUAR if they were to work in a state institution or company.

Another issue of pressing concern for both the state and Muslims is that of the religious press. In China, every publication is subject to censorship inspection before it is assigned a book or periodical number and can, hence, be published officially. The import of religious literature is under tight state control. The town of Linxia in Gansu is the center of the Islamic press in China, and books printed there include legal as well as illegal ones. Moreover, throughout the

Northwest popular local magazines are published. They cannot be bought in bookstores; they are either delivered by mail or obtained through personal networks. Often they disappear or are forbidden after a couple of issues. Articles cover various religious topics and report on the lives of Muslims at home and abroad. They are written and edited by volunteers and financed through donations. Although they tend to be published illegally, local authorities mostly tolerate them. Again, in XUAR the access to religious publications is highly limited since they can only be sold in specially designated places. Not only distribution but also the possession of illegal religious literature is strictly punished and it is one of the most common accusations in arrests of Uyghur activists.

Conclusion

Looking at some of the most pressing issues for Muslims in China today, we demonstrated how different the government attitude can be towards the Hui in China proper, the Hui in XUAR, the Uyghur who are studying or working in China proper and the Uyghur in XUAR, each according to their perceived threat to the political authority of the CCP. Those communities that are seen as cooperating or posing less of a challenge are treated more tolerantly; those that are seen as resisting are oppressed. Even though the activities in question are exactly the same (for example a student wearing a headscarf) they can be labeled legal in one situation and illegal in another. What allows the state to adopt such a contradictory attitude is the lack of unambiguous definitions of key legal terms, such as what constitutes “normal religious activities”. In the absence of an independent judicial body or other organ that could make decisions in cases of different, even competing interpretations of these loose terms, regulations offer the government a broad area for manipulation instead of defining the scope of its action. The comparison between Hui and Uyghur, who are subject to the same legislation, but not to the same treatment, shows how the state uses laws for political repression. This can also largely explain why breaking the law is found more often among certain groups or in certain parts of the country. Despite some recent improvements, religious policies and practices of the PRC thus remain shaped around the question of political loyalty, perceived, as Potter (2003: 26) points out, not only in terms of support for state policies, but also as a contribution to the creation of the CCP’s broader political legitimacy.

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